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## THE RISE OF PAKISTAN

*Phillips Talbot*

PAKISTAN has been called the most bizarre country in the world. One thousand miles of foreign soil lie between its two homelands; its key frontiers bear no relation to geographic, historic, defense, or trade considerations; and its 75 million citizens are cleft in race, culture, and language. A bifurcated nation that is the product of an immense religio-political struggle, it sprang to life in 1947 with an abruptness that staggered its opponents.

Even a few years earlier none but a handful of Indian Muslim intellectuals had conceived of carving a separate Islamic state out of India. Nearly all other British and Indian students of the evolution of the subcontinent assumed that any future pattern of self-government would preserve the economic and political en-

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tity of India that had been attained under British sovereignty. Yet when British rule approached its end on August 15, 1947, no force remained that could extend a single government across the whole country. The spectacular speed with which the political novelty of an Islamic state in India was transformed into the independent nation of Pakistan, the fifth most populous in the world, affords an extraordinary example of the power of suggestion to exploit popular fears and hopes.

Of many political factors involved in the rise of Pakistan, traditional British policy in India operated the earliest.<sup>1</sup> There is a simple axiom of economical government that alien rulers should seek local allies against nationalist revolutionaries. British officials long encouraged Muslim landowners and middle-class professional men to band together in the face of the larger, richer, and generally more advanced Hindu middle classes. From the late nineteenth century onwards, British policy makers also promised to support Muslim political aspirations in return for Muslim loyalty. Muslim separatism thus emerged in both economics and politics, a monument to the policy of *divide et impera*.

After World War II, Great Britain's changed fortunes impelled it to quit India without more delay. Both Britain and the United States recognized that chaos in a free India might invite intervention by other powers whose arrival in the Indian Ocean area would be unwelcome. Therefore the British now sought to leave India strong and stable, but their efforts to promote inter-party agreement came too late; the Hindu-Muslim quarrel had gone too far to be composed.

The Indian National Congress also contributed, by miscalculations and blunders, to the realization of Pakistan. The Congress Party was the largest, broadest-based, and most aggressive political organization in pre-independent India; although dominantly Hindu, it spoke and acted as a national body. The Congress opposed the Pakistan idea with all the vigor at its command, and treated the partition campaign as a British-sponsored, puppet-led tactic to prolong the need for imperial rule. Even as late as 1946, Vallabhbhai Patel, now Deputy Prime Minister of

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the domestic historical, social, and economic factors contributing to Hindu-Moslem division see David G. Mandelbaum, "Hindu-Moslem Conflict in India," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 369-85.

the Dominion of India, expressed his belief that the Muslim League would collapse if British support were withdrawn.<sup>2</sup>

Yet neither the British Government nor the Congress Party was primarily responsible for the outcome. Pakistan was created largely through a relentless campaign waged by the All India Muslim League under the iron discipline of its president, Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

The aggressive Muslim League of the 1940's owed its paternity to a movement launched seventy-five years earlier to restore Muslim dignity and position after the debacle of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan began by founding the Aligarh College, to be the hub of education and morale for Indian Islam. He and his successors, who organized the Muslim League in 1906, all believed that Muslim fortunes could be best rebuilt by currying favor with the British rulers of the country, an opinion that British officials encouraged. Part of their plan was to create a class of Muslims educated in Western ways who could co-operate with British authority in the government and army.

Later, Muslim dissatisfaction with Britain's World War I policies brought a period of anti-British demonstration. The League co-operated for a time with the Congress Party, and Jinnah, then a rising young politician, gained the sobriquet of "apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity."

In a third policy shift beginning in the 1920's, the League stood apart from both the British and the Congress, appealing to each to acknowledge special Muslim interests. The landed interests controlling the League feared that the British might yield to the Congress Party's advanced social and agrarian doctrines. At the same time, Sir Sayyid's new middle class of Aligarh graduates found itself competing for insufficient jobs against Hindus who were already in the field, with family connections and an apparent talent for excelling at examinations.

In the meantime the beginnings of a turbulent social movement, under the cloak of religion, were being stimulated by Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Lahore. He played a John-the-Baptist role in rousing Muslim intellectuals and preparing the way for an as yet unnamed "Man of the Hour." But

<sup>2</sup> In an interview by the author.

no leader had stirred the great bulk of India's Muslim population — the peasants and artisans. These millions lived at peace with their Hindu, Sikh, and Christian neighbors. Indeed, 90 percent of them were descendants of converts from Hinduism, and many retained old indigenous customs alongside their simple Islamic creed. Religious differences had not yet overcome the kinship that stemmed from common disabilities of poverty and illiteracy. It remained for Mohammed Ali Jinnah to blend and energize the fears of the Muslim landed aristocracy, the frustrations of the Muslim middle class, and the potential fervor of the Muslim peasantry.

A tall, thin, hawk-faced man with patrician instincts and a sharp legal mind, Mohammed Ali Jinnah appeared more English than Indian. He wore faultless English-styled clothes, habitually affected a monocle, filled his homes with Western furnishings, and through much of his career wrote and spoke only in English. (Later, however, politics dictated that he learn Urdu and make public appearances in Muslim dress.) After reading at the English bar, Jinnah returned to develop one of the most lucrative law practices in India. He was a figure on the Indian political scene before Gandhi, and in the Indian Legislature distinguished himself as a shrewd advocate and dangerous adversary.

Intense political zeal was more characteristic of Jinnah's career than personal religious practice. A member of a small Shiite sect in a country whose Muslims are predominantly Sunnis, he once described himself to the author as a "rational" believer in Islam. Although he turned away from his daughter when she married a non-Muslim, he himself had also gone outside the Muslim community to wed a Parsi. There is nothing of the mullah in Jinnah; he is, rather, a scientist of political strategy, and almost by accident found himself at the head of a religious rather than a secular crusade.

Jinnah consolidated his leadership of the League by shrewd calculation. Rather than copy Gandhi's and Nehru's easy familiarity with the crowd, he habitually held himself aloof. Once, when followers urged him to visit and comfort Muslim riot refugees in Bihar, he declared he could do more good by staying in Delhi to argue the Muslim case before the Viceroy. "By nature and by



long training," he said truly, "I am a cold-blooded logician."<sup>3</sup>

Yet by his successes Jinnah won a fanatical following. His title *Qaid-i-Azam*, the "Great Leader" or "Fuehrer," became a worshipful salute. Youths swore to fight and die for him. One of his young followers, Mohammed Noman, dedicated a semi-official account of Muslim India to Jinnah with the words of a Christian hymn: "Lead Kindly Light, Amid the Encircling Gloom, Lead Thou Me On. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Jinnah used this personal support freely in reshaping the League as the representative political organization of the whole Muslim community. Independent Muslim politicians and party subordinates felt its strength. A deputy in the United Provinces once commented to the author, half-resentfully and half-admiringly, "I could win over the whole provincial delegation to my viewpoint until Mr. Jinnah said a word against it. Then not a vote would be with me." The party executive, or Working Committee, acted as a discussion panel, but it is not known that the Committee ever carried a decision against Jinnah's will.

The cry for Pakistan arose soon after Jinnah had come to dominate the League in 1934. Iqbal had already touched on the subject of a separate Muslim state. Students and extremists made it a live idea after Muslims had begun to feel real and fancied disabilities under the Congress provincial ministries of 1937. There was, however, much confused thinking on the subject. By 1939 the halls of the Aligarh Muslim University rang with debate over eight separate schemes, ranging from revision of provincial boundaries to virtual restoration of the Mughal Empire.

Although the struggle for Pakistan introduced a new era in League history and gave its President his most valuable tool in building up the organization, Jinnah was not a quick convert. He was a parliamentarian rather than a revolutionary, and from the first the securing of guaranteed privileges and constitutional safeguards for Muslims had been his ambition. It was apparently only in 1939 that Jinnah decided a declaration for Pakistan would strengthen the League and provide it with a strong bargaining lever for negotiations with the British and the other

<sup>3</sup> At an 'Id gathering near Delhi, 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammad Noman, *Muslim India* (Allahabad, 1942).



Indian parties. After close study, the Working Committee designed the now famous resolution that committed the League to the goal of Pakistan but avoided in a morass of muddy rhetoric any precise definition of the state-to-be. The wording finally approved by tumultuous delegates to the Muslim League convention in Lahore in March 1940 declared that, for acceptance by Muslims, any future political proposal for India must necessarily

be designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically-contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.<sup>5</sup>

Jinnah immediately set forth the main lines of the Pakistan proposition. Making much of the visible differences, he argued that:<sup>6</sup>

1. Hinduism and Islam are not religions in the strict sense, but distinct social orders. Hindus and Muslims neither intermarry nor interdine, and have different epics and heroes. The hero of one is often the foe of the other, and the victory of one a defeat for the other.
2. Muslims are not a minority group in India, but a separate nation which must have its own homeland and state.
3. Nationalities which are as divergent today as they ever were cannot be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them "forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British parliamentary statutes."
4. Other, much smaller, nations have been divided to give racial and national homes to different peoples. Why not India?

Jinnah also offered a threat and a promise. He declared first that "Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu-majority government. . . . We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years, and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and the raising of private armies."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *All India Muslim League, Lahore Session, March 1940: President's Address and Text of Resolution on the future constitution of India and the position of Mussalmans under it, together with brief summaries of speeches delivered on the resolution* (Delhi, 1940), p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> The following is summarized from notes taken by the author during the speech.

<sup>7</sup> As he spoke, a Muslim private army, the Khaksars, had just fought bloodily against the Punjab police in the streets of Lahore. Later on, in fact, the Muslim League, the Congress Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Akali Sikhs all organized private drill groups trained in individual combat.

The promise Jinnah held out was that partition would settle the communal problem. There was no reason, he said, why the successor states should be antagonistic, because one group would no longer try to dominate the other in a single government. He added his hostage theory: that a Hindu government of India would be able to protect the welfare of the Hindu minority in Pakistan by its control over the Muslim minority in its own area, and vice versa.

But Jinnah neglected to mention other factors: that many of his countrymen's difficulties were more economic than religious; that the discontent underlying the Pakistan movement stemmed largely from areas (like the United Provinces) where Muslims were in a minority and could therefore never be included in Pakistan under the League's own definition; or that Indian society was too complex for broad areas to be distinguished as either Muslim or Hindu. After partition actually occurred, many of the original protagonists of Pakistan found themselves a hated minority in an even more completely Hindu polity. One of history's great and devastating migrations, which uprooted some ten million people from their homes at a cost of several hundred thousand casualties, was the price paid to sort out Hindus and Muslims in the northern border areas.

The Pakistan resolution proved to be political magic for the League. Muslims in great numbers and of all classes rallied to the cry that Islam was in danger — the logical extension of the argument that Muslims could not live freely in a single India. For the first time, Jinnah was able to build an omnibus organization like the Congress, embracing peasants, artisans, and laborers as well as students, merchants, professional men, landowners, and religious zealots. The League gained support even in Muslim-majority provinces, where Muslims had not previously felt the need for such an organization because they neither suffered nor feared the disabilities of a minority.

Within the Muslim community the Pakistan campaign achieved a high pitch of emotional intensity. Urdu newspapers used inflammatory language to reach not only their readers but a much broader audience of illiterates who had the papers read to them. Without government consent, Muslim teachers in govern-

ment schools taught their pupils the creed of Pakistan. Election campaigns were fought with ferocity. In one instance,<sup>8</sup> a student politician at Aligarh told how "Mr. Jinnah sent an urgent wire requesting volunteers for the campaign. Two hundred students went to Sind [which is 800 miles from Aligarh]. I myself headed a team of eight students; we spent a month in a rural district talking to villagers. We achieved a complete victory for League candidates." The university later postponed examinations for students who had been absent on electioneering missions.

A side light on the level of political campaigning is thrown by the same student's analysis of the rural reaction. He said that the peasants "do not understand Pakistan. Even after we explain it they cannot understand it fully. But they look to Mr. Jinnah as their protector and affectionately call him 'our old general.' I have seen old villagers weep when we appealed to them to support our *qaid-i-azam*, who is saving the Muslim nation."

In a campaign in which leaders encouraged no restraint, the strongest emphasis was consistently placed on the separateness of Muslims and non-Muslims. A typical hand-out was a League pamphlet by Humayun Akhtar, entitled *How Much Is the Difference?*<sup>9</sup> In parallel columns the pamphlet listed 34 such conflicts between Orthodox Islam and Orthodox Hinduism as the following:

<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Hindus</i>
Abolishers of idolatry.	Builders and worshippers of idols.
Sins pardonable by God alone.	Sins atonable by bathing in the River Ganges.
Muslims prohibit all forms of usury.	A Hindu's cherished income is the interest accrued from his capital.
Widows treated with greatest compassion and consideration.	Widows generally considered as accursed beings of God.
Lusty music and dancing prohibited among Muslims.	Lusty music and dancing considered distinctive cultural virtues.
Obscenity in art explicitly forbidden.	Cave idols representing nude bodies and phallic symbols considered as relics of praise and charm.

That the stated distinctions are sharper than those actually found

<sup>8</sup> Reported by Richard Morse in a letter to the Director of the Institute of Current World Affairs.

<sup>9</sup> Published by the Department of Publicity and Information of the All India Muslim League at the Muslim League Printing Press, Delhi; undated.

in Indian life goes without saying. But propaganda of this sort took its place beside charges of Hindu atrocities to whip up Muslim passions to dangerous levels.

Not all Muslims believed that Pakistan would solve the community's problems. A number stayed to the end in the Congress Party; a few turned to communism; many stood aloof from politics. But when the waning British power launched active negotiations after World War II to transfer authority to Indian hands, the Pakistan movement had achieved enough strength and fanaticism to give Jinnah a virtual veto over his Muslim opponents.

In the spring of 1946 the new Labor Government of Great Britain sent three of its cabinet ministers to India for a grueling three-month effort to arrange a peaceful transfer of power into Indian hands. At the unsuccessful conclusion of its mission, the delegation reported "an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India."<sup>10</sup> The ministers further declared their opinion that a sovereign state of Pakistan would fail to provide an acceptable solution to the communal problem, and noted "weighty administrative, economic, and military considerations" which led them to reject the plea for partition. This report seemed to be Britain's final veto of Pakistan. Yet hardly had the three ministers fled the heat of the New Delhi summer when there began a series of events that ultimately forced both the British Government and the Congress Party to accept the division of India.

A crisis atmosphere ripened rapidly. Although both the Muslim League and the Congress Party had finally agreed to proceed toward the Cabinet Delegation's proposal for a very loose federation with wide self-governing powers for Muslim areas (after Jinnah had told a reluctant Muslim League Council meeting that this represented the "substance" of Pakistan), a dispute arose over a proposed two-party Provisional Government for the transition period. The Congress Party was not satisfied with Viceroy Wavell's final terms regarding the distribution of portfolios and his own veto powers, and rejected them; *after* the Congress rejection, Jinnah accepted the scheme, thereby — in his

<sup>10</sup> *Statement by the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy*. Cmd. 6821.



view — winning for the Muslim League the right to form the interim cabinet alone.

The Viceroy was in a dangerous position. He knew that Jinnah's move was more spectacular than realistic, for the League then controlled only two of eleven provincial ministries and had, of course, practically no following in the mainly-Hindu provinces. Already the Congress Party had intimated that further concessions to the League might lead to a national civil disobedience campaign. Congress Party members had become as truculent as the Muslims; the Hindu-controlled press condemned Jinnah and the League as "British lackeys" and "saboteurs of independence"; and speakers cited Abraham Lincoln in urging youths to fight, if necessary, to hold their motherland intact. To forestall further exacerbation of the situation, Lord Wavell, who was criticized in the British press for having let himself into such a pitfall, quickly declared that Jinnah had placed an unacceptable interpretation on his offer.

The League president reacted with even more violence than the Viceroy or the Congress Party had anticipated. Angered and embittered, he reconvened the Muslim League Council late in July to discard the last semblance of negotiating peacefully for an Indian political solution. His earlier compromising acceptance of the "substance of Pakistan" plan had in any case been unpopular with the members. Now he rewon their enthusiasm by repudiating it and going further to renounce "constitutionalism" as a political method in favor of "direct action." Once again Jinnah failed to define his term, but his followers showed their defiant spirit by publicly casting off knighthoods and other honors that had been conferred on them by the British. Excitement ran high when Jinnah proclaimed August 16, less than three weeks in the future, as a Muslim national "Direct Action Day."

Each step in the political disintegration was a new blow to the Government of India because its thousands of Hindu and Muslim employees were increasingly infected with political tensions. Officials could no longer be sure that even policemen of different religious communities would work together. The Viceroy thus found himself facing anarchy. As he could not get the co-operation of both major parties and did not dare accept League assistance



alone, Wavell and his superiors in London next decided to remove the larger party from the opposition. Congress Party President Jawaharlal Nehru was therefore invited to form a Provisional Government.

Again Jinnah had been affronted; again he acted belligerently. He told Muslims, whose raw tempers were under the special strain of Ramazan fasting, that "We are prepared for any situation that may arise." His associates in Bengal and Sind declared that the Muslim League Ministries of those Provinces would defy instructions of a Central Government controlled solely by the Congress Party. *Dawn*, the Delhi newspaper founded by Jinnah, waxed hysterical:

The British-Congress axis is formed and the rape of the Muslim nation is to begin in a more ruthless and criminal manner than Hitler and Mussolini dared in Europe. . . . So be it. . . . The moment that a Hindu government is set up without the consent and collaboration of Muslims the first shot of aggression will have been fired against them. And that will be the signal for the Muslims . . . to do or die. It is inevitable.<sup>11</sup>

Despite these thunderings, and after a fruitless meeting between Nehru and Jinnah, the Congress proceeded to select a cabinet. Many Muslims expected their leaders to declare a Holy War. They despised Hindus as soldiers and saw themselves as worthy heirs to the military glories of the Mughal Empire, not realizing that the industrial and technical tools of modern warfare lay almost entirely in Hindu hands.

Just before "Direct Action Day" Jinnah took a second look at the forces he had unleashed. He warned Muslims to observe the occasion only with peaceful and disciplined meetings "in order not to play into the hands of our enemies." *Dawn*, however, greeted the day with a cartoon of a large fist, labeled "Direct Action," being shaken in the startled faces of Nehru and John Bull, who were made to say, "Good Heavens! That fellow means business."

The effect of the League campaign to whip up public passions quickly showed itself in Calcutta, where "Direct Action Day" set off the most severe communal warfare in recent Indian history. As in most civil conflicts, the immediate spark was hard to identify.

<sup>11</sup>*Dawn*, August 14, 1946.

Mobs of Hindus and of Muslims, terrorizing one another's neighborhoods, burned houses and their occupants, looted shops, and knifed men, women, and children. Civil administration collapsed; even on the fifth day, arterial roads as well as side streets were strewn with uncollected corpses. Broken mains reduced water supplies, and no food was carried into the city. Before mechanized military forces finally restored order, riot deaths ran to several thousand, property damage was incalculable, and the life of the city was shattered. Several hundred thousand residents fled into the countryside, each one carrying panic and bitterness like germs to infect new areas. Neither major party acknowledged responsibility for the Great Calcutta Killing, as it was promptly labeled, or for those that followed, in a series of alternating retaliations, in East Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. Yet the mounting toll of riot casualties determined the course of further negotiations in New Delhi.

Still believing that a coalition government gave the only hope of peace, the Viceroy again sought to bring the Muslim League into the Interim Ministry. He succeeded temporarily in October 1946, but only, it later developed, because of another "misunderstanding" with Jinnah. Contradicting Lord Wavell, Jinnah's ministers made it clear that they were entering the Provisional Government not to form a coalition with the Congress or to acknowledge Nehru's virtual prime ministership, but to protect Muslim rights and interests. Their determination to fight for Pakistan from within the government made a shambles of national administrative policy. More than once Nehru threatened to lead the Congress-nominated ministers out of the government unless the Viceroy proved able to modify the League's attitude. As the autumn progressed, it developed further that the League did not intend to seat its representatives at the forthcoming Constituent Assembly, which had been elected to design a confederation along the lines of the Cabinet Delegation's plan, and that it had not recanted its previous summer's rejection of constitutionalism.

It was now clear that Lord Wavell's usefulness as a negotiator had almost disappeared. In an effort to avert the incipient explosion, British Prime Minister Attlee called the Indian leaders to

London. Like earlier conferences, this attempt failed on what seemed a procedural point rather than a basic principle. Jinnah declared that the League would refuse to reconsider the Cabinet plan until the Congress Party accepted it in full; the Congress replied that it had accepted the plan fully, but would insist on interpreting some clauses in a way that neither the British Government nor the League admitted. The leaders finally flew back to India unreconciled; the Congress Party and independents entered the Constituent Assembly on December 9, with League seats empty; and the British Government decided to declare an end to its responsibility in India by June 1948, whatever political arrangements might be reached in the meantime.

The League used the lull that followed for vigorous fence building. Two of the most virile Muslim-majority provinces — the Punjab and the North-West Frontier — had not yet fallen under its control. In the Punjab a coalition of Muslim landed interests with Hindu and Sikh groups having strong urban strength retained the ministry through British consent. The pattern had worked well in a province where political power was delicately balanced between Muslims, in a bare majority, and Hindus and Sikhs, who controlled many of the purse strings. The League, nevertheless, wanted to disrupt its opponents by securing a straight Muslim ministry.

It found an opportunity to strike at the existing cabinet in January 1947. The Punjab Government was then enforcing severe controls in an effort to keep the communal frenzy from spreading thither. When it suppressed private armies, including the Muslim National Guard, the League immediately declared a civil disobedience campaign.

The move was in part a tactical miscalculation, for when after several weeks of blatant defiance the League forced the overthrow of the coalition (Unionist) ministry, it was not able to form its own cabinet. The League tactic also brought communal rioting to the province, and stimulated preparations in all communities for the civil war that was to follow in eight months. But when Sir Evan Jenkins, the British governor, finally suspended representative government in order to avert Hindu and Sikh retaliation against the Muslim League, the latter at least had forced the

Hindus and Sikhs out of control and demonstrated its own strength.

In the North-West Frontier Province the Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) Party still controlled the ministry. This was a specially bitter pill for the Muslim League, for although this province is solidly Muslim, the ministry was allied to the Congress. The League again launched a civil disobedience campaign, but the Frontier ministry proved more robust than its neighbor in the Punjab. It stood until after a British-managed referendum showed in July that the Frontier Muslims had shifted their support strongly to the League. Aside from the partial victories attained, both the Punjab and North-West Frontier campaigns strengthened the League's local organizations in the two provinces.

Meanwhile, the British Government announced its decision to withdraw from India unconditionally in 1948 and to send Rear Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten as Viceroy to preside over the liquidation of its responsibilities. The new Viceroy was given fifteen months to bring about the transfer of power. It was understood that in the first six months he would study the situation and prepare a suitable plan. Within three weeks of his arrival in India in March 1947, however, Mountbatten concluded that chaos and anarchy might overcome his administration in even this shorter period.<sup>12</sup> As a lesser risk, he decided to move speedily in turning over the responsibilities of government to the Indian parties. A bold step, he hoped, would terminate their oppositional activities; in any case, it might remove the British from the arena before disaster broke.

After a fruitless effort to convince Jinnah that Pakistan would harm Muslim welfare more than benefit it, Mountbatten persuaded the Congress Party to accept the partition of India. He reasoned that as British authority in India was no longer strong enough to enforce a settlement, it could no longer debar Pakistan; he also argued that the remaining Indian nation would be stronger and more stable without the disaffected Muslim areas.

Under Viscount Mountbatten's prodding Congress leaders

<sup>12</sup> The following expression of Mountbatten's judgments and procedures is derived from contemporary conversations with him and with persons closely associated with him.



finally agreed to give up the mainly Muslim northwestern and eastern sections of India. Resentment against the acceptance ran hot among Hindu resurgents and added fuel to the troubles that spread after independence. But the Party leadership sold the program to the country on the grounds that Pakistan would not get a square foot of territory more than it deserved, and that partition had become the inevitable price of independence. For the British, partition was the price of escape from an impossible position.

Once the central issue had been settled, Mountbatten pressed ahead for agreement on a program for the transfer of power. Ten weeks after he had appeared in India, the negotiators achieved an independence-cum-partition formula that had the approval of His Majesty's Government, the Congress Party, and the Muslim League. Although partisan leaders had been under extreme strain for many weeks, they raced on to the monumental tasks of breaking apart one government responsible for 400,000,000 subjects and building two new governments in its place. The entire prodigious job was to be accomplished in another ten weeks, even though haggling marked every step in the division of territory and resources between Pakistan and the remaining India. Referenda in disputed areas gave to Pakistan both the North-West Frontier Province and the Sylhet District of Assam. But boundary commissions under Sir Cyril Radcliffe detached from potential Pakistan territory the rich western part of Bengal, with Calcutta, India's largest city, and also the southeastern part of the Punjab. Jinnah protested that the decisions left his Pakistan "moth-eaten" and truncated; but he accepted them.

Mountbatten also persuaded the incipient governments to remain, at least for a trial period, in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Even though both had previously declared for full independence, the speed of events prevented them from completing alternative constitutional arrangements in time. Some leaders in each government, furthermore, saw reasons for continuing the British connection after gaining self-rule. The settlement of many other issues was postponed for later tribunals. Enough was accomplished, however, to meet the deadline. On August 15, 1947, independence came with great ceremony to the Dominion of India and the separate Dominion of Pakistan.



The new Government of Pakistan established its capital at Karachi only seven years and five months after the obfuscatory Lahore resolution had launched the campaign for a separate Muslim state. Such speedy success in political agitation was unprecedented. But part of its success must be credited to the Congress Party, which had prepared the ground by two generations of struggle for Indian self-rule. The Congress, moreover, resisted British authority at its full strength, while League agitation ripened only after the British had lost the power to maintain civil authority.

Indian political psychology also explains part of the League's success. More than once the Congress might have drawn the fangs of the Pakistan campaign by yielding points immediately at issue. But Indian politicians were schooled in the negativism of implacable opposition to British rule, and so had not learned the strategy of compromise.

None of these factors would have produced Pakistan, however, without the appearance of a man like Jinnah who could mold inchoate discontent into a communal crusade. Jinnah released the dynamics of religious fervor to arouse artisan and peasant fanaticism and weld it to upper-class frustrations. With such a force at his back, Jinnah proved a parliamentary match for the best brains that England and the Congress Party could produce. Considering his objective, he made fewer tactical errors than the teams led by Attlee, Lord Wavell, and Sir Stafford Cripps, or by Gandhi, Nehru, and Patel.

As a final resort, when arguments seemed to fail him, Jinnah showed his willingness to plunge the country into civil war if necessary to reach his goal. It should in fairness be added that the Congress also showed itself ready at times to resort to force, and the country might have collapsed into turmoil if Britain had not thrown in Mountbatten's spirited leadership at a critical moment. But it was above all Jinnah's readiness to loose mass public passions that made further negotiation academic and the acceptance of Pakistan inevitable.

Even though there was no political alternative to Pakistan at the moment British rule finally withered, it has not yet been proved that partition was the best solution to the Muslim's ills.

The division of the Punjab alone created more suffering and dislocation than might have been anticipated from a settlement made when unification was still possible. In the thousands of square miles where Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims lived in the closest intermingling, unofficial warfare routed ten million people from their homes and brought about sharp economic distress, disintegration of the social fabric, and the near downfall of the new governments. But the dislocation was disproportionate: while three-quarters of the new India was untouched in the outbreak, Pakistan lost much of the wealth and productive capacity of its richest province.

The creation of Pakistan also cut its 75 million people off from such Indian resources as iron and coal; from India's heavy industry and much of its light industry; from India's supply of trained administrative officers and technicians. Contrary to Jinnah's prediction, the realization of Pakistan has not brought communal peace to the subcontinent. The costly, drawn-out battle over Kashmir is only one example of the constant conflicts that have poisoned relations between the two dominions since Independence Day.

Yet Pakistan exhibits important survival qualities. In a normal year its food production is ample to meet its people's needs. Its raw materials are commanding a strong foreign market. A start has been made in prospecting for mineral deposits and building industries. Even more important is the fact that the Pakistan concept still has the fanatical support of its Muslim population. Muslims, particularly in the northwest where the strength of Pakistan resides, exhibit a bitter determination to remain separate from India at all costs. Part of their feeling stems from the old League slogans that Islam was in mortal danger. Greater bitterness derives specifically from the communal riots. Forgetting their own aggressive forays against other communities, Muslims think of the many tens of thousands of their relatives and coreligionists who were killed in the slaughter. They know that many residents of India have not yet accepted the partition as permanent, but regard it as a temporary secession comparable to the action of the American southern states in 1861. So long as the threat remains of an Indian attempt to reabsorb Pakistan,

Muslims will follow Jinnah's directive to support their government with vigor.

Jinnah, though past 70, continued his leadership after the birth of his country by becoming Pakistan's first Governor General, the only Governor General in the British system of nations to be the effective chief of state. Jinnah also assumed the presidency of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, which doubled as the Dominion Legislature in the initial period. His stature so persisted in dominating the young country that it has been impossible to predict the permanence of Pakistan without Jinnah. The real test will come now that his successors must carry on without his distinctive talents.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE ARAB DHOW TRADE

*Alan Villiers*

AT THE end of 1939, there were 106 large ocean-going dhows on the registry of the Persian Gulf port of Kuwait. They averaged about 100 tons, the largest being 300 and the smallest about 75 tons, by European standards. Their average value, at that time, was perhaps 10,000 rupees, the approximate equivalent of \$3,000. They made trading voyages with Iraqi dates, loaded in the Basra river, to the coasts of India and East Africa, generally making either two Indian, or one East African, voyage annually. The majority were in the trade to India, with an occasional diversion to East Africa. From India they were accustomed to bring back shipbuilding materials, coir for cordage, and Malabar teak; from East Africa they brought mangrove poles from either the delta of the Rufiji River, in Tanganyika, or from the port of Lamu, in Kenya Colony. These poles were used for building, and the dimensions of the rooms in most of the Kuwait houses depended upon the length of the mangrove poles brought from East Africa.

In addition to these deep-sea dhows, there were also, at that time, between 100 and 150 pearlers, and some 50 or 60 smaller dhows in the local trade to the Basra river, many of them engaged in bringing fresh water (for Kuwait has no satisfactory supply of its own). New vessels were building at the rate of two or three a month, for deep-sea, and a similar number for coastwise trade.

The port of Kuwait was then, and is still, the principal dhow-

▼ ALAN VILLIERS, deep-sea sailor and author, spent over twelve months in 1938-39 studying firsthand the Arab dhow trade of the Persian Gulf and the coasts of southern Arabia and East Africa. His experiences are described in his *Sons of Sinbad*, published in 1940; Mr. Villiers here presents further information on the social and economic aspects of the trade.

building and trading port of the Persian Gulf, though offering little trade itself. Its only real rival in the deep-sea trade was the ancient port of Sur, near Ras al-Hadd, on the Gulf of Oman. Figures for the port of Sur were unobtainable, but there must have been at least 100 deep-sea dhows sailing from there, the majority to Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Zanzibar. Several ports on the Trucial Coast of Oman also sent their quota of deep-sea ships to Africa and India; and Muscat and Mutrah Bay, and the ports of Lingeh and Qishm, in Iran, contributed a few. But the flag of Iran was a rarity in both Indian and African ports, compared with the Arab.

In addition to the Persian Gulf and Omani ports, Mukalla in the Hadhramaut, Ma'alla by Aden, Hodeida, Mocha, and Luhaiya in the Yemen, and Qizan on the coast of Asir in the Red Sea, all build and maintain considerable fleets of dhows. These I have seen, personally; there are many ports I was unable to visit. It is probable that the dhow trade round the Arab coasts employs upwards of 2,000 vessels of one sort or another, in which at least thirty or forty thousand men gain some sort of livelihood.

For many years, steamers of the British India Company have been trading in the Persian Gulf. Kuwait is still well served by steamers from Karachi, and an occasional long-voyage vessel used to put in from New York and London, even before the oil resources began to be exploited in 1940. American, German, Italian, and British lines, none of them likely to overlook any cargoes, all traded to the Gulf. The African East Coast and the Indian coasts are even better served. How is it, then, that a dhow trade of such importance still survives? How is it organized, and how managed?

One reason — perhaps the chief — why the ancient trade with the monsoons down the Indian Ocean not only survives but flourishes is that the dhows warehouse the goods they carry as well as transport them, and it suits the merchants better to have 10,000 packages of new season's dates divided among a fleet of dhows, than in the hold of one steamer which will unload the lot in a day or two, and flood the market. Ten thousand packages provide cargoes for at least five large dhows; the dhow master does not care how long he takes to discharge his cargo, for his overheads are trifling, his crew works on shares and handles all cargo, and



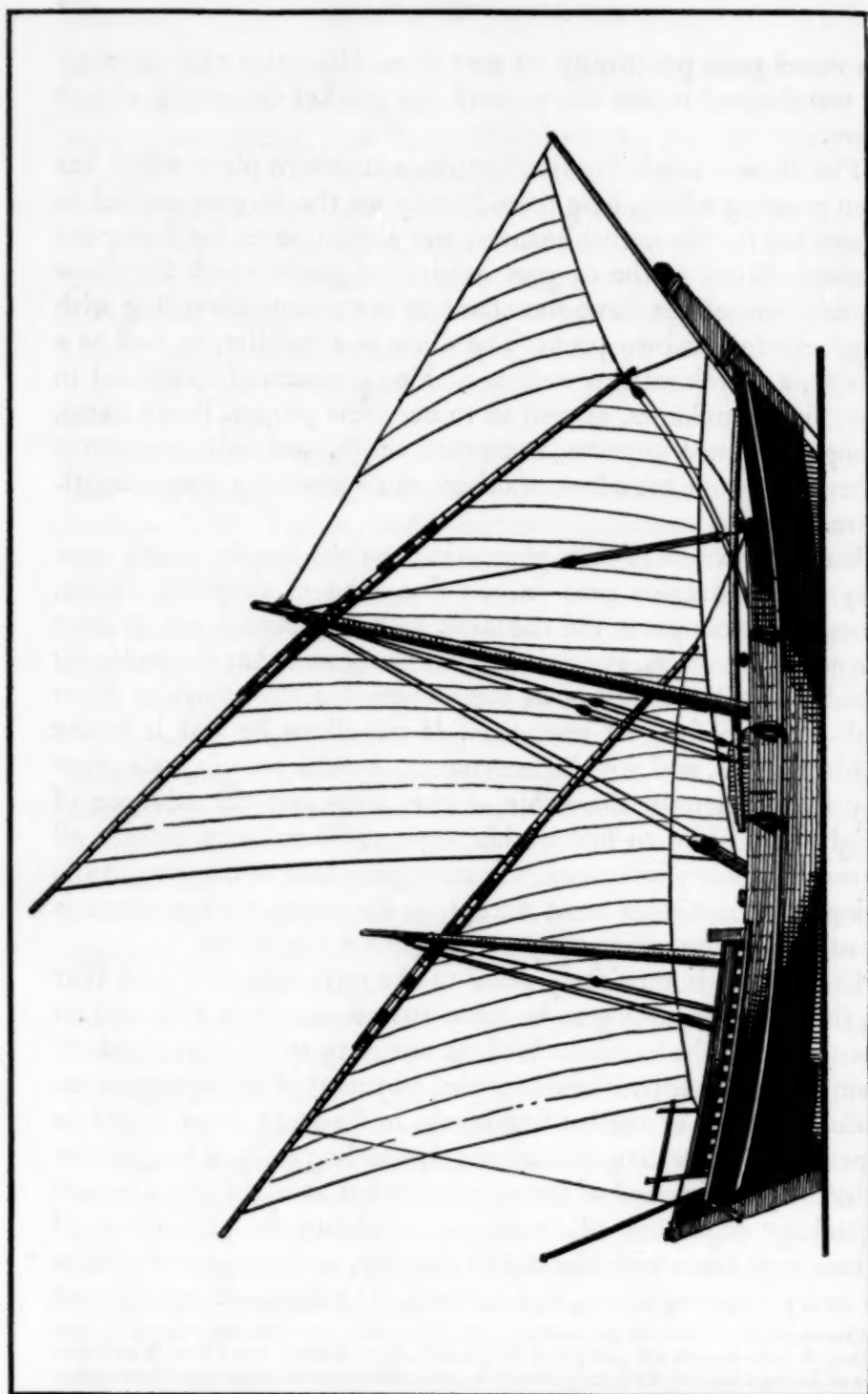
his vessel pays practically no port dues. His dates can therefore be warehoused in the dhow, until the market can easily absorb them.

The dhow trade is "native" trade, a stubborn plant which has been growing a long, long time. Nearly all the cargoes carried in dhows are for the native bazaars, and almost never for European account. Much of the cargoes consists of goods which the dhow captain himself, or some merchant or merchants travelling with him, sells for his own profit. The dhow is a peddler, as well as a carrier; a storehouse, as well as a ship; a means of livelihood to travelling merchants, as well as to her crew proper. Basra dates, though the most important outward cargo,<sup>1</sup> are only one source of revenue: there are a host of others, not necessarily always legitimate.

Kuwaiti owners of date plantations on the nearby Basra river play a considerable part in the financing of deep-sea dhows, though in most cases the captains, called *nakhodas*, are at least the nominal owners. It suits the merchants well that the *nakhodas* should regard themselves as the owners, for this provides them with a cheap form of insurance. If the dhow be lost it is the *nakhoda's* loss, and not the merchant's, for the poor captain must pay back not only the value of the dhow but the advance of freight given him to finance his voyage. Since Islam forbids all forms of ordinary insurance, this arrangement is to the merchant's liking. The *nakhodas* must accept it, for in most cases there is no other way by which they can acquire a big dhow.

In Kuwait, immediately prior to the outbreak of World War II, there was beginning to be some restiveness about this, and an association of the *nakhodas* had the temerity to issue its demands upon the merchants. These included payment of demurrage when unduly delayed at the loading berths in Basra (a dhow might be kept for weeks waiting for her cargo), a sliding scale of freights for different ports instead of the customary flat rate of 1.5 or 2 rupees a package regardless of destination, liability for the return of advances to cease with the loss of the ship, two competent officers for every seagoing dhow, and so forth. The demands represented

<sup>1</sup> Crew requirements and the very measurements of the dhows themselves are reckoned in terms of dates. A sailor to each 100 packages is the general rule, in Kuwait, and a dhow is spoken of there as having a capacity for 2,000 packages of dates, rather than as being of 100 tons burden.



*Arab Boom*

a bare minimum, surely, and no more than a *nakhoda's* right, but the merchants' answer was that if the *nakhodas* could make new rules, so also could they; and they had the real power. I do not think the attempt of the *nakhodas* got them very far.

While the dates are generally carried both to India and East Africa on a freight basis, nearly all other cargo is bought to the ship's own account and peddled to best advantage. The merchants have a substantial share in the dhow's earnings, apart from the sailors' own ventures, which are limited to what they can stow in a sea chest on the poop. As far as I was able to discover — and I was more than twelve months sailing in deep-sea dhows — the freight from the dates, on the typical African voyage, is used to finance a cargo of salt from Aden and to purchase odds and ends which might earn a profit in the bazaars of the Benadir coast and Kenya Colony. At the same time, the dhow carries all the passengers she can prevail upon to make a voyage, anywhere, for the Arab of Oman, and the Hadhramaut in particular, is an inveterate wanderer, and every dhow is a passenger vessel by the mere possession of deck enough to lie upon.

The salt is sold in the best market that offers between the Hadhramaut coast and Zanzibar. At the same time, the *nakhoda* does what trading he can in anything which he knows, from past experience, will command a market. The average dhow never leaves the Gulf without at least some carpets, allegedly Persian but generally of either Italian or English origin, which are used both as trade and as bribes. Cooking stones, ghee, live sheep, cows, sacks of rice and flour, dried fish, haberdashery of all sorts, brassware, cheap enamelware, Arab confectionery — all these may be aboard, either as ship's ventures or as the crew's, generally the latter.

Every man of the crew concentrates on goods which can be bought cheaply in the free port of Aden, adulterated if possible in transit, and sold to the Somali or Swahili shopkeepers whose little stores abound in every port along the coast of East Africa, from Haifun in the north (which the Italians called Dante) to Mikindani in the south, which is about as far south as the Arabs sail in these days. Only Indian dhows go further, to Madagascar and the Comorin Islands. Gaily coloured turbans of the correct style

(for the manner of headdress worn in the different parts of Arabia and East Africa varies considerably; what will sell well at Mukalla, for instance, will find no buyers at Kuwait; and the Arab is a stickler for style), sarongs from Java and Japan, amber and artificial beads of the kind the true Moslem loves to fondle, cigarettes in gay packages but of no advertised brand, cheap perfumes (which I have several times seen the sailors laboriously adulterating with water from the ship's tanks), small crocheted caps to go under turbans, money belts, caps of artificial leather and pullovers of extremely artificial wool, veils for the harem, basketware from the Hadhramaut, sometimes a little hashish or *qat*<sup>2</sup> — these are the sailors' ventures, and the profits are their own.

The sailors are inveterate smugglers; almost none of the goods they bring — apart from the main cargo — is declared. Since they leave from small ports along the coast of Arabia where official supervision, while thorough, is not organized to conform with the Europeans' idea of how trade should be conducted, and since so much of their more highly dutiable goods are private ventures, such manifests as they produce to the authorities are useless. The mariner buys his goods himself, and sells them himself (though he does not mind disposing of them to boats alongside). He sees no point in accepting any official interference, and to him the European on the East African coast is still an interloper, recently arrived and wholly unnecessary.

The passenger trade is an important one, particularly in the East African voyaging. Though the Italians in their colonies tried to regulate the movement of Arabs, and the growth of Indian influence in Mombasa and Zanzibar has much lessened Arab trade and opportunities, still thousands of Omani and Hadhramaut Arabs travel down the Benadir coast and to Zanzibar annually. Every dhow fit to go to sea — and quite a few which look as if they are not — carries her quota, and some of the overcrowding is incredible. Among 35 Arab dhows which were lying together at Mogadishu, in Italian Somaliland, in the season of 1939, the Italian immigration authorities checked 4,000 passengers. They

<sup>2</sup> A bush common to southern Arabia, especially the Yemen. The leaves, when chewed, are somewhat intoxicating.

missed at least another 600, for no list which the dhows supply is really reliable, and each ship carries many persons who are without European documents. As a new dhow arrives, sometimes dozens of her passengers will drop quietly over the side and disperse themselves among the dhows already in the harbour. As with the disposal of the seamen's ventures, all Arabs take a delight, regardless of their ports of origin, in the general defeat of European regulations.

## II

At first glance, the whole deep-sea trade in dhows seems unorganized and almost unregulated. In point of fact, it is very well organized indeed, and has a tradition going back, probably, some thousands of years. There is no association of dhow owners in Arabia as there is a Country Craft Organization on the west coast of India, for the Arab of today is too inherently disunited and fiercely individualist to make this type of co-operation possible. But he can organize his own trade very well, nevertheless. The typical wealthy business family of Kuwait maintains offices, almost always managed by sons of the house who frequently rotate on the circuit, in all the more important centers of Arab coastal trade. The head office is at Kuwait or perhaps Basra, with branches at Aden (in the Crater, not at Steamer Point), Bombay, possibly one other west coast of India port, and Mukalla. Where there is not an actual branch of the family conducting business on a permanent footing, there is either a trusted agent (probably a relative), or one of the younger sons sent in the trading season to watch the family interests. This, for instance, is done at Berbera, in British Somaliland, which, when times are good, can absorb a surprising quantity of Iraqi dates carried there in dhows. The agent or family member is primarily responsible for the collection of debts — always a problem in a trade which is carried on without banking. A family carrying on business on such a scale will have a finger in perhaps a score big dhows, all nominally "owned" by their own *nakhodas*. The cash resources of some of these families must be enormous, and behind them stands the Sheikh of Kuwait, who was a wealthy man even before oil was discovered in his territory.



When a deep-sea dhow is built, at least some of the money is put up by the *nakhoda* himself and his family. It is the first essential of the *nakhoda* that he should be from a family of standing in the community, which will pay its debts. Just why such families cannot finance a dhow by themselves I was unable to discover, but the Arab, apparently, has no objection to carrying on business under a cumbersome structure of debt. The merchant, backed by the Sheikh or the ruling family, backs the *nakhoda's* family, who support in turn a trusted and experienced member to take command of the dhow.

It is customary for the boys in such families to go to sea while very young, but they never work as sailors. They are always privileged: no sailor can become a deep-sea *nakhoda*, since obviously if his family is of standing, he would never serve before the mast. The children sail with him sometimes from the age of six or seven, though not regularly. They will make one or two long voyages, looking on and learning but not actually doing anything; then they will remain at home a year or two before going out again. They take command very young. Schooling, at least in 1939, was normally restricted to the local Koranic schools, and rarely occupied more than three months in the year. Only merchants' sons went to the colleges of Iraq, Egypt, and Syria.

Gradually the head of a *nakhoda's* family may attain the status of a lesser merchant himself, though his merchandise is generally limited to the wherewithal to build ships, which comes up in his own dhows from the Malabar coast. But a *nakhoda* himself almost never becomes a merchant, and a merchant's son never becomes a *nakhoda*. Nevertheless, the profession of conducting deep-sea dhows about the waters of the Indian Ocean is a highly respected one, and the shipmasters of Kuwait are, on the whole, a very competent and knowledgeable class, though few of them can practice much astronomical navigation. Even their long voyages down to Zanzibar or to Calicut are coasting, really down with one monsoon, and back with the other, almost always in sight of land. Their real ability consists in their local knowledge, both of ports and trade.

In Kuwait, in 1939 — as now — there were upwards of 10,000 qualified deep-sea sailors. An astonishingly high proportion is of

Negro origin, the descendants of slaves, though not now slaves themselves. Many others are of Iranian origin. Almost none are Bedouin, for the Arab Bedouin is not a seafaring man. In Kuwait, the callings open to the low-class Iranian are restricted to portering, pearling (either as diver or as tender), and sailing. Both Iranians and Negroes work splendidly, are loyal, competent, and well disciplined.

As the *nakhoda* class is tied to the merchant by a structure of debt, so also are the sailors tied to the *nakhoda* class in the same way. All deep-sea sailing is paid for on a shares system, and there are no wages. Often the *nakhoda* of the deep-sea dhow has an interest in a pearling vessel (though not now to anything like the same extent as in former years), and the sailor may be bound to him through pearling debts, either his own or inherited. The more iniquitous practices in the pearling business structure have long been on the way out, largely because of the excellent example set at Bahrein, but the debt tradition stands and is almost impossible to eradicate.

The sailors go to sea because they know no other life, and they make a wretched living by incredibly difficult methods. They have no possessions other than the clothes they stand in, and one or two spare gowns, a good headcloth, and a few sarongs. Their toothbrush is the twig of a tree; their ablutions are made five times daily at a mosque well, or in the sea; they know no shelter and rarely have a bed. The younger seamen, I have noticed, often have no home other than the *sug*, or native bazaar, where they coil down in their rough cloaks for a night's sleep on a bench in a cheap coffee shop, or in the sand. At sea, they stretch out on the deck, beneath the stars, for there is no such thing as accommodation for the seamen or anyone else in most dhows. The officers and the more important merchants live on a bench round the wheel, in the stern of the ship; the seamen lie down anywhere.

What keeps the seaman a disciplined and more or less contented worker is his hope of reward, principally from smuggling or his own ventures, and his ambition to get hold of a tiny shop in the *sug* of his home town. This is an ambition he rarely achieves. His more usual fate is to die young, especially if he be

also a pearl diver. Pearling from Kuwait and Bahrein is carried on during the season of the hard southwest monsoon in the Indian Ocean, when the big dhows are laid up and there is no ocean sailing. It is therefore possible for the same men to carry on both callings, though in these days the seaman is becoming a little too enlightened to go off cheerfully to the purgatory of pearling.

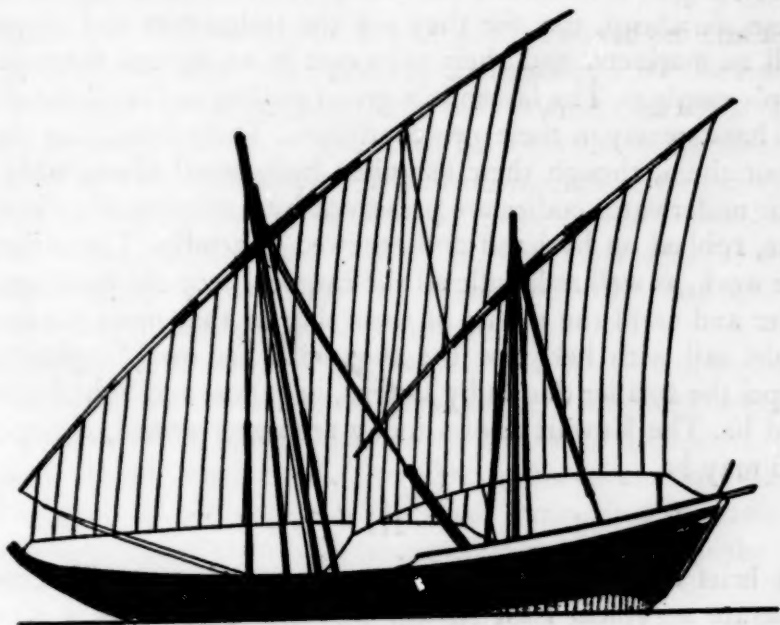
The seaman is also helped by his religion, by his interest in the seafaring life (which has a great appeal of its own) and the fine camaraderie about it, and in many cases by the delights of night life in such ports as Zanzibar and Bombay. If he has no harem of his own back in Kuwait, he is certainly no celibate at Zanzibar. He generally seems to manage a small home in Kuwait after a few voyages, depending upon his own business acumen and the general success of the dhow he serves in. Many *nakhodas* appear to maintain several.

In addition to the merchants, *nakhodas*, and seamen, there is another class of importance in the dhow trade. These are the mates, the experienced officers who, never able to become *nakhodas* themselves because of an unacceptable financial status, very often have more to do with the actual sailing of the dhow than the *nakhoda*. Each big dhow carries at least one such experienced man. Sometimes he is of Iranian origin, and has been sailing since he could walk. Sometimes he is a Negro, member of a trusted ex-slave family, who lives with the *nakhoda* at home or has been brought up in his courtyard.

He is always an able mariner, but he is not often trusted to trade. It is not at all uncommon for a *nakhoda*, on the usual East African voyage — which always begins with a long haul and long-winded peddling of dates round the coasts of Southern Arabia, and to Berbera and perhaps Djibouti — to leave the ship for considerable portions of the passage at sea, while he looks after her business interests ashore. For example, in one Kuwait dhow in which I had the good fortune to sail for some eight months, the *nakhoda* cheerfully left the ship at Aden and went on to Mukalla by steamer, to steal a march on the other shipmasters and scoop the cream — he hoped — from the passenger market. Again, he left the ship at Zanzibar, and his mate took her down to the delta of the Rufiji, hauled her out on the beach at Kwale Island south

of Dar es Salaam, loaded her with mangrove poles, and brought her back to Zanzibar again, where the *nakhoda* had ostensibly been trying to assemble passengers and extra cargo for the return to Arabia but in fact had been enjoying a new harem.

Mates are paid by shares, and are, in my opinion, an oppressed class. They carry their own ventures, engage in smuggling on a



*Baggala*

small scale — haberdashery, currency, and so forth — and generally keep the ship's books. They may become *nakhodas* of small *booms*, running to the Basra river; but it is unusual for a man from the more dignified deep-sea trades to descend to this. There is no social status about the *nakhoda* of a coastwise water dhow.

Ships are built by shipwrights who employ no naval architects. Both builders and riggers' lofts are unknown. The ships are put together entirely by eye and take the traditional form either of the double-ended *boom*, or the carved and embellished *baggala*, which obviously has a considerable ancestry from the Portuguese

galleon. *Baggalas*, being both costly to build and unwieldy in a seaway, are now unfashionable. A *boom* is both cheaper and much easier to build, and carries just as much. Her sharp stern makes her safer in a seaway, though it is no part of her builder's plan that her *nakhodas* will try her qualities in a storm. Their sailing, he hopes, will be confined to sunny seas and more or less favorable winds; therefore the clumsy lateen rig will do.

The lateen is awkward but cheap; it demands a big crew, but these are cheap, too, for they are the sailmakers and riggers as well as mariners, and their only cost is an agreed share in the ship's earnings. The lateen is a grand pulling sail, and the dhows sail handsomely in their own conditions. There is nothing clumsy about them, though their fish-oiled hulls smell abominably and their underwater bodies are preserved by a mixture of tallow and lime, rubbed on by hand and renewed quarterly. The sailors do this work, as well as handle all the cargoes, keep the passengers in order and extol the merits of their ship so that more passengers might sail with her, tow the ship with her own longboat and propel the smaller dhows by sweeps, in calms, and fight for her if need be. The Kuwait dhows today are never armed, though the Suri may be.

### III

A brief description of my personal experiences will serve to illustrate a typical East African voyage.<sup>3</sup> I sailed in a Kuwait dhow of the *boom* type, a vessel of 2,000 date-packages capacity — perhaps 150 tons — which had a crew of twenty-eight. She carried something between 120 and 180 passengers, although her hold was full of salt and rice, and her decks were already crowded with a large longboat, a small gig, and a dhow under construction for sale at Lamu.

I joined the vessel at Ma'alla, the native port of Aden. She had already been several months at sea, peddling a full cargo of dates from Fao (by the mouth of the Basra river) around the coast of the Hadhramaut, and to Berbera. When I joined her, she had been hauled out on the beach at Ma'alla and her bottom

<sup>3</sup> The voyage here summarized is described in detail in the author's *Sons of Sinbad* (New York, 1940).

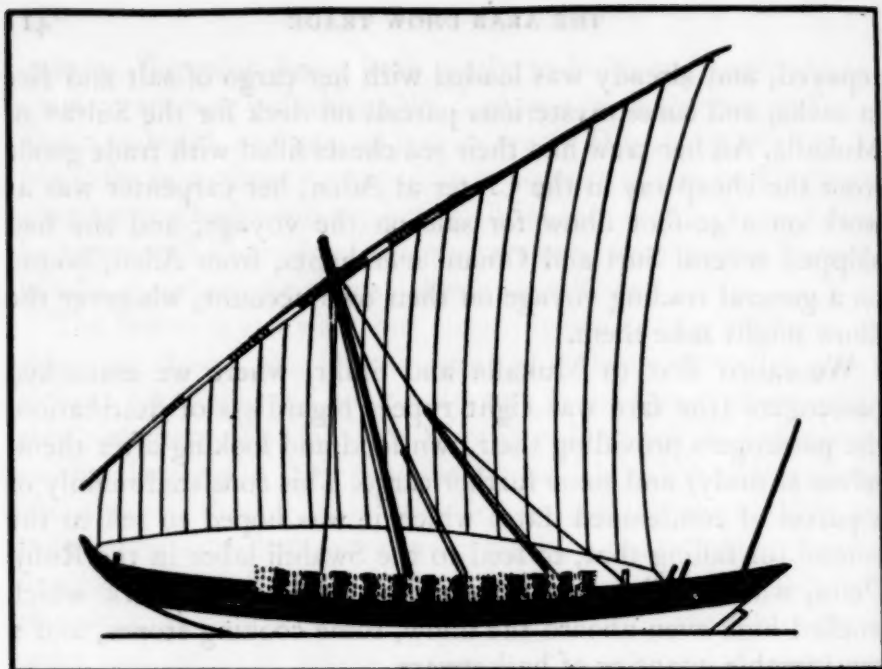


repayed, and already was loaded with her cargo of salt and rice in sacks, and some mysterious parcels on deck for the Sultan of Mukalla. All her crew had their sea chests filled with trade goods from the cheap *sug* in the Crater at Aden; her carpenter was at work on a 40-foot dhow for sale on the voyage; and she had shipped several Suri and Omani merchants, from Aden, bound on a general trading voyage on their own account, wherever the dhow might take them.

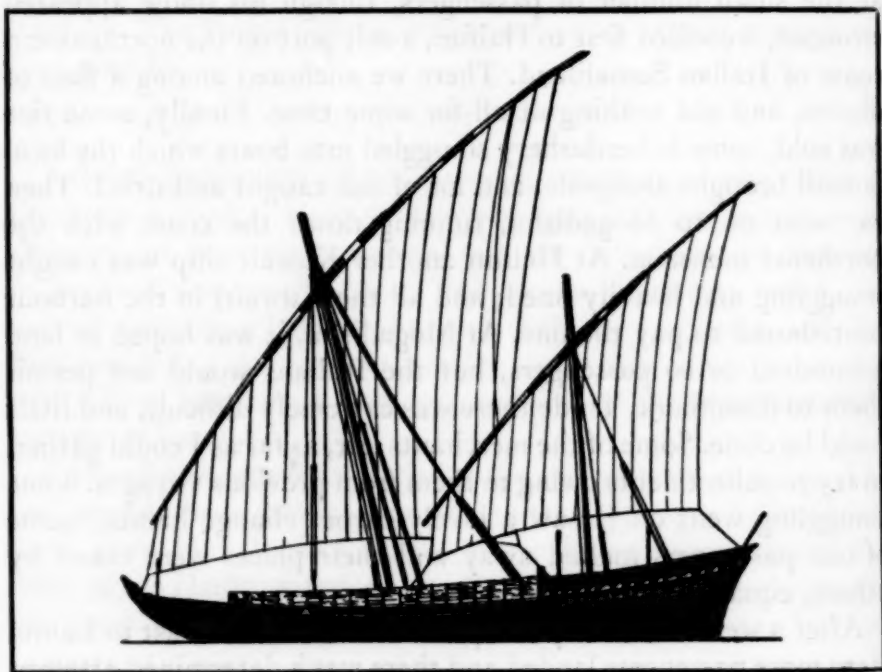
We sailed first to Mukalla and Shihr, where we embarked passengers (the fare was eight rupees regardless of destination, the passengers providing their own food and looking after themselves entirely) and some further cargo. This consisted mainly of a parcel of condemned dates which it was hoped to sell to the Somali (or failing that, to feed to the Swahili labor in the Rufiji Delta, when loading mangrove poles), some dried shark which smelled high even aboard the dhow, some cooking stones, and a considerable quantity of basketware.

With this lot aboard, and the *nakhoda* pessimistic and depressed at the small number of passengers, though his dhow appeared crowded, we sailed first to Haifun, a salt port on the northeastern coast of Italian Somaliland. There we anchored among a fleet of dhows, and did nothing at all for some time. Finally, some rice was sold, some haberdashery smuggled into boats which the local Somali brought alongside, and lot of fish caught and dried. Then we went on to Mogadishu, running down the coast with the northeast monsoon. At Haifun another Kuwait ship was caught smuggling and heavily fined; and all the Kuwaiti in the harbour contributed to pay the fine. At Mogadishu, it was hoped to land a hundred or so passengers, but the Italians would not permit them to disembark. Trade there was extremely difficult, and little could be done. Some of the merchants left, as far as I could gather, to try to collect debts owing to them from previous voyages. Some smuggling went on (I saw a lovely carpet change hands), some of our passengers melted away and their places were taken by others, equally undocumented.

After a week or ten days we passed on down the coast to Lamu. Here more passengers landed and there was a determined attempt to sell the new dhow which the carpenter had completed. She



*Zaruk*



*Sambuk*

was a lovely little vessel which could carry some fifteen tons. The price asked was 1,000 East African shillings, or about \$240. At that price, there was no buyer; she finally changed hands at 700 shillings. Lamu was a mangrove-pole port, but I gathered the trade was rather too well regulated for our *nakhoda's* taste, and we bought nothing.

Next came Mombasa, a port with a large dhow trade. Some figures I saw in the *Report of the General Manager on the Administration of the Railways and Harbours (Kenya and Uganda)* showed that the dhow trade was increasing, rather than diminishing. The latest returns I saw, for the year ended December 31, 1937, showed that 1,427 dhows had arrived at Mombasa, an increase of ten percent on the previous year. These 1,427 dhows were computed to register — if they had been registered — nearly 40,000 tons. Many were Swahili, from Lamu and Zanzibar, but a large proportion was Arab. There was a native harbor set aside for them, and here we sold salt, landing it in our own longboat. We got rid of our surviving passengers, gave feasts to merchants and officials of the native harbor (these were a great feature of the voyage, and were always accompanied by much monotonous singing and dancing), gathered tidings from brother *nakhodas* from Kuwait and Sur about trade prospects further south, collected debts, and finally departed toward Zanzibar.

There were three Indian and one Iranian deep-sea dhows in the port at Mombasa. The Iranian was an enormous vessel of over 400 tons — the largest dhow I saw anywhere. She was a *boom* and had been built at Kuwait, but the Kuwaiti sold her because they found such large vessels uneconomic, in bad times, for the mere reason of their too great capacity. They brought too much to sell, when the market was depressed, and they could not wait indefinitely to dispose of their cargoes because their overhead was too high, despite the fact that everything possible was done to keep down building costs, even to the sending of Kuwaiti shipwrights to the Malabar coast to build big vessels there, rather than carry the timber to Kuwait.

Zanzibar, at that season of the year, was an even busier Arab port than Mombasa. In the first month of the northeast season, over a hundred ocean-going dhows had arrived at Zanzibar, most

of them Arab. I noticed in the registry office of the Customs building that some were entered as Somali, and a few were registered in the Hadhramaut. No longer did they bring down picturesque cargoes of myrrh and frankincense (if they ever did) or ship out slaves and ivory, ambergris and hippopotamus teeth. They brought salt and dried fish; and when they came, the quantities of hashish and other drugs in the town showed a significant increase. They loaded little at Zanzibar for the homeward voyage, but went on down to the coast of Tanganyika.

We completed the discharge of our outward goods at Zanzibar, and the crew busied itself for weeks selling Hadhramaut basketware and Aden haberdashery — port of origin, Yokohama. When we sailed, leaving our *nakhoda* behind, our only cargo was the parcel of condemned dates, which the Somali would not have. We passed on down to the delta of the Rufiji River, a place given up to mosquitoes, malignant malaria fever, monkeys, sad Swahili, rain, and the best mangrove poles in the world. Here we lay six weeks, while a cargo of some 142 score of poles was laboriously cut and loaded. For this work, Swahili were engaged to help our crew, and at last the bad dates found consumers. The mangrove poles were ferried out in the dhow's longboat, and paid for in silver shillings to a white supervisor. There were some twenty dhows loading in the Rufiji delta at the time, all for the Persian Gulf.

It struck me as strange that the dhow should spend so much time embarking a cargo in which the total investment was less than \$500, for no matter how I tried to figure things out, I did not see how it could possibly be worth her while to haul such a paltry cargo so long a distance, or how she could make enough from it to show a reasonable profit on the voyage. There was certainly something mysterious about this mangrove pole business, and the white supervisor, energetic as he was, by no means knew all that went on. I noticed later, when we sold our cargo to King Ibn Saud's agents at Bahrein for use in a new palace at Riyadh, that the Arab receipt was for 295 score, and the price paid, over 4,000 rupees, approximated \$1,200.

There was some attempt in Zanzibar to regulate the dhow traffic, and precautions were taken to see that there was no slaving, under any guise. A local act requires that evidence be shown



that any new crew members in Arab ships joined voluntarily; vessels must not be overmanned, and crew and passenger lists must be provided and in order; ships must be surveyed, and kept seaworthy; and *nakhodas* must be certificated. As for the last, the port officials conduct examinations, and the general principle seems to be that if a man is capable enough to bring a dhow down to Zanzibar, certificate or no certificate, he can also be trusted to sail her away again. But the fee for examination is fifteen shillings, and the Arabs complain about it.

We touched at Zanzibar again after loading in the Rufiji, re-embarked our *nakhoda* and took aboard a few Swahili school-teachers as passengers (they proposed to hire an automobile at Kuwait to take them to Mecca), filled the decks with coconuts and cases of soap and vermicelli, and departed toward the Persian Gulf again with the first of the broken weather at the end of the northeast season. We did not await the coming of the true southwest monsoons, for it sets in hard; we sailed direct to Muscat, in twenty-six days.

Muscat was depressed and there was no trade there, not even smuggling. All that changed hands, as far as I could see, was a box of Maria Theresa thalers, enormous Austrian coins minted in London for the Omani and available in Zanzibar at a price less than the exchange rate in Muscat. The Arabs turned everything to profit and were prepared to sell anything, even the ship. The sailors' pastime in the Rufiji was buying lemons — a thousand for a shilling — and converting them into sherbet, which they hawked in the *suq* at Kuwait throughout the summer.

Our cargo of mangrove poles sold at Bahrein, the ship returned to Kuwait, to lay up inside a coral breakwater until the new season's Iraqi dates ripened and it was time to go out again. At Kuwait, when all her people were returned — several relations of the *nakhoda* had dispersed from Zanzibar back to Lamu and Mogadishu to collect debts — a general balance sheet of the whole round voyage was struck, the profits computed carefully, and divided by a system of shares arranged traditionally. It was not a straightforward statement of income and expenditure; I never saw or heard of any piece of Arab seafaring business which was as simple as that. It was all complicated by prior advances,



debts, odd earnings not shared and even odder earnings which were shared, and mysterious complicated procedures, some of which I never did fathom, for the war came, and stopped my investigations.

The son of the merchant family which owned our dhow, however, told me that her gross profit on the nine-month round voyage was 11,000 rupees, not including the proceeds of the crews' and officers' private ventures. But I think he exaggerated, for the total investment in the dhow was little more than that. But at any rate, the dhow's people were well satisfied and they all, save one, went back to sea with her. The *nakhoda* grew fat throughout the summer, and took a new wife, and a new *boom* for his brother at a cost of 10,500 rupees; and I heard no complaints from the merchants.

As far as I was able to discover, half the gross earnings went to the ship; this was the merchant's share. The cost of the food for the round voyage (which was not much, for all hands lived very simply and fishing lines were the most important equipment in what passed for her storeroom) was deducted from the other half, and the remainder was then divided by shares arranged strictly in accordance with the accepted value of each man's rating aboard. The sailor's share on the voyage which I made was reported to be 135 rupees (about \$40), whereof 35 rupees had been advanced. This was little enough for such a long voyage, and though they worked hard at all sorts of things and were ready for any kind of business, I doubt whether a sailor's earnings from other sources amounted to more than 20 or 30 rupees, clear.

I heard of dhows from Kuwait that season which were distributing less than 100 rupees; according to the Kuwaiti, who had no high opinion of them, the Suri rarely paid out more than fifty. To a sailor whose only home was the sand of the *sug* and his bed the cloak around him, whose wants were few and whose paradise was assured, even 50 rupees may be a vast sum of money. There was, at any rate, contentment throughout the Arab shipping industry as I knew it, and the quiet philosophy I learned among the simple seamen was of great help to me in the days of the long-drawn war which was soon to follow.

# WARTIME PROPAGANDA IN THE MIDDLE EAST

*Seth Arsenian*

THE MIDDLE EAST was of tremendous strategic importance during World War II both to the Allied and to the Axis powers. For the Allied powers, and especially for Great Britain, the peaceful holding of the Middle East meant the continued supply of the major part of oil necessary for the conduct of war; it meant facilitating and shortening by thousands of miles the route to India, China, and the Pacific theater; it meant the possession of the southern littoral of the Mediterranean for possible later attack on the Balkans; it meant economy of troops, ships, airplanes, and all kinds of war materials sorely needed for the conduct of war, both in the European and Pacific battle areas. It meant, as well, the possibility of the Allies' supplying Lend-Lease materials to the Soviet Union via the Persian Gulf, a much less hazardous and more available route than that of the Northern Atlantic and Murmansk; it meant preventing the Axis armies from striking at the Caucasus via Turkey or Iran; and finally it meant the assurance of realizing any postwar objectives they jointly or severally held. These same considerations, conversely, spelled out the strategic importance of the Middle East to the Axis powers. To Germany, Italy, and Japan the destruction of British and Allied power in the Middle East, or the winning to their side of any of the Middle Eastern states would have immeasurably increased their chances for success.

It is immediately apparent, therefore, why from the very beginning of the war both the Allied and Axis powers used propaganda — a much less expensive method of warfare than actual military activity. Propaganda alone does not win wars or even the alle-

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giance of nations in any short period of time, but properly conceived and astutely co-ordinated with other political, economic, or military events, it can be extremely effective in winning or retaining the minds of its subjects.

As Leonard Doob points out in his recently published *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, the successful propagandist must know the drives and needs of individuals or groups toward whom his propaganda is directed. Furthermore, the existing beliefs, customs, frustrations, conflicts, aspirations, and expectancies, namely, the entire pattern or climate of latent and actual public opinion must be known so that propaganda can be meshed into it without drastic disharmony. It goes without saying that in any large population group, such as the various peoples of the Middle East, the *general* climate of public opinion is subject to differing degrees of intensity and variation. For example, anti-British feeling may be stronger among some classes of the population than among others, or the anti-Zionist theme may have geographically a more general acceptance than the anti-British. The propagandist must know both the general climate of opinion and important variations on major issues. Only then will it be possible for him to select certain themes for his propaganda program and direct it toward a suitable target.

Furthermore, the propagandist nation's own practices, beliefs, professed ideals, and aims will influence the decision as to which of the elements in the climate of opinion of the propagandee nation can be used effectively. For example, the German propagandist could exploit the anti-Jewish theme in the Middle East to its maximum, as it did, since that was in entire harmony with the practices and professed ideas of Hitler's Germany; but such a theme obviously could not be used in Allied propaganda.

The propagandist's knowledge and effective use of language in its widest sense, with its nuances of meaning to different classes of people and to different sections of the country, also has a great deal to do with his success. As we shall see later, some of the Arabic radio programs broadcast from Berlin, which made good use of the Arabic language, were eminently successful; others, as those from Japan, were ineffective for their very failure in this regard.

## II

A brief analysis of the content of wartime propaganda in the Middle East may be limited to the use made of the radio, since the themes developed here by both the Axis and Allied powers were for the most part the same as those used through other channels.

*Axis Propaganda.* Italy was the first to enter the field of short-wave broadcasts to the Arab world, beginning with its preparation for war on Ethiopia in 1935. When Great Britain took the lead at Geneva in opposing Italian aggression, Italy retaliated with a campaign of hate against the British in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Palestine, where already there was serious Arab-British tension. The Italian station at Bari, combining Arabic poetry and music with highly emotional propaganda, accused Great Britain of being an imperialistic oppressor, of committing atrocities against the Arabs in Palestine, of being "decadent" as a ruling power, and of having a fleet that was only a "museum piece." It declared at the same time that Fascist Italy was the real power in the Mediterranean, and that Mussolini was the Protector of Islam.<sup>1</sup> This campaign of hate increased in vehemence until the "Gentlemen's Agreement" between Mussolini and Chamberlain in 1938, and the dismissal of Eden from the British Cabinet. For the time being, Italian propaganda then concentrated its efforts on the demolition of French prestige in North Africa, while Berlin took over propaganda among the Arabs of the Eastern Mediterranean.

From early in 1938 on and throughout the war the Berlin station (located at Zeesen, 19 miles southeast of Berlin) dominated the Arab scene. Utilizing the services of Arab lecturers in German universities and well-known exiles from Palestine, Iraq, and other British-dominated Arab countries, the Berlin radio produced the most vigorous and widely listened to Arabic programs. The major line of propaganda emanating from Berlin and two other subsidiary stations located in the Balkans was as follows: The interest of the Allies in the Middle East was motivated entirely by their "greedy imperialism" which was bound to "rob the Arab of

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Childs and J. B. Whitman, editors, *Propaganda by Short Wave* (Princeton, N. J., 1942).



his wealth and enslave him forever." The Allies were "scheming partners" representing no real strength when compared with that of Germany; Allied leaders and authorities, mentioned by name as occasion allowed, were "untrustworthy, perfidious, and decadent individuals." The Allies were represented in these broadcasts as "Jewish controlled" and were often referred to as "United Jewish nations."

Separate treatment was accorded each of the four major Allies. The British were reported as "deceitful enemies" of Arab independence and aspirations. All the wartime difficulties in the Middle East, including high prices in Iraq, malaria in Egypt, starvation in Hadhramaut, and disturbances in Palestine, were equally attributed to British rule. The Arabs were assured over and over again that the power of Great Britain was a thing of the past; that its navy was old and dilapidated, and had suffered tremendous losses; that its cities and industries were destroyed by the German air force; that its manpower was exhausted; and that its morale was at the lowest ebb. Germany, by fighting England, was fighting the Arab's real enemy. The Arabs should, therefore, rise up and strike this "deceitful enemy" while it was in plenty of trouble and was tottering on its feet.

The Germans' technique in dealing with the United States was somewhat different. To create anti-American feeling which they knew had never been prevalent in the Middle East, they associated the name of America with such unpopular concepts as Zionism, dollar imperialism, and Great Britain. America's policy in the Middle East was reported by Berlin as being dominated by Zionists and aimed at the "Judaization of Palestine." America was alleged to be a partner of Great Britain in a common aim to exploit the Arab countries, both politically and economically, especially in reference to their oil resources.

The communist ideology of Russia was reported by Germany as Jewish, and as opposed to everything for which the Moslem religion stood. Atrocity stories, having to do with the burning of mosques and the maltreatment of Moslem women and children in Yugoslavia, were cited as examples of the work of the communists. It was stressed that there were many Moslem volunteers in the German army fighting "the dreaded Bolsheviks."



Vilification of the French was also a major theme of the Berlin station until the fall of France; from that time on, and especially after General de Gaulle was established in Algiers, the Free French became the critical target of German propaganda. De Gaulle was accused of atrocities against the Arabs and of being a tool of both "Anglo-American imperialism" and "Moscow's designs in North Africa."

A further major theme of German propaganda to the Arabs, distinct from direct attacks upon the Allies, was anti-Semitism. This campaign of hate was relentlessly pursued by Berlin in many different forms. The Arabs were told that the Jews would make a Jewish state of Palestine and force the Arabs out of that country; that Jews, as "tools of British imperialism," would colonize and exploit the Arabs in the entire Middle East, and in this they would be helped by the Allies. The Jew was pictured in the vilest terms, and as the particular foe of Islam: "The Jew since the time of Mohammed has never been a friend of the Moslem, the Jew is the enemy and it pleases Allah to kill him." On this score also Germany was the "great friend of the Arabs," for had she not cleared Germany of Jews? Let the record speak!

Berlin broadcasts attempted consistently to arouse and strengthen Arab nationalistic attitudes and to appeal to Moslem religious feelings. They extolled Arab culture and exhorted the Arabs to use force to secure their independence. Hajj Amin al-Husayni, the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Rashid al-Gaylani, once Prime Minister of Iraq, Yunus al-Bahri, an Iraqi journalist, and other Arabs willing to collaborate with the Germans gave strong religious and nationalistic coloring to the Berlin broadcasts. The Nabil Mansur of Egypt declared in one of these broadcasts that "God hath sent Germany, the just and great nation, to punish the imperialists and save the Arabs." The Germans exhorted the Arabs to defend their "sacred heritage," to kill Jews, Britons, and Americans, and to "rise and strike" while the time was propitious. In other words, one of the major aims of German propaganda was to create disturbances and if possible armed rebellion in the Arab world.

Japanese radio propaganda in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Pashto (the language of Afghanistan and northwestern India)

attempted to cultivate among the peoples of the Middle East a feeling of their identity with Asia as opposed to Europe and America, and a recognition of Japan as champion of the Moslems and of the smaller nations of Asia in general — as leader of the "Asia for Asiatics" movement. Its more immediate aim was to create or to exploit any anti-Allied disturbances which would redound to Japan's advantage during the war.

The main themes of Japanese propaganda may be summarized as follows: The Anglo-American allies were "rapacious and imperialistic" powers, whose true motives in the Middle East were "economic greed and political domination." They were "scheming partners" and "distrustful of each other"; their internal structure could not withstand the strains of the war and would lead to internal revolution; their democracy was "decadent." Unless the Middle Eastern nations stood up and fought for their freedom now, "they will be enslaved forever." "Invincible" Japan was fighting for the freedom of the Asiatic nations. It had "liberated" 120 million Moslems in the Philippines, Burma, and the Dutch Indies, and was ready to liberate the 80 million Moslems in India.

The Japanese played up the "avid co-operation" of the Moslem communities in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories to show how the "liberated" Moslems demonstrated their appreciation of the "blessings" the Japanese had brought to them. They claimed that there was a fundamental difference between the Orient and the Occident. The alleged refinement, and spiritual and artistic life of the East was contrasted with the alleged materialism and grossness of Western living. It was emphasized that there was a natural bond of common interest between the nations of the Eastern and Western Asiatic countries. "The Europeans who have been interfering with this natural bond must be eliminated and Japan has taken the leadership in this process. Follow Japan!"

It will be noted that the Japanese broadcasts did not identify Russia with the Allies because of Russia's neutral status toward Japan until just before the end of the war. At times, in Japanese broadcasts, Russia was referred to as an Asiatic power, and therefore different from "Europeans." While the Tokyo broadcasts

commented on the Palestine situation and encouraged the Arab independence movement, they did not exploit the anti-Semitic theme to any great extent.

In passing, it may be said that Japanese radio propaganda in the Middle East was ineffective for at least two reasons: the difficulty of reception in many parts of the Middle East, especially in Turkey and Iraq, and the pedantic, aloof, and bookish character of its programs. The most effective broadcaster from Tokyo was Abd al-Rashid Ibrahim, the nonagenarian head priest of the mosque in Tokyo.

*Allied Propaganda.* Since the countries of the Middle East, by virtue of past association and contemporaneous alignments, were within the Allied sphere of influence, the primary objective of Allied propaganda was to prevent a development of sympathy for the Axis cause. In 1938 the British Broadcasting Company (B.B.C.) was forced to initiate a service in Arabic beamed to the Middle East because the campaign of hate relentlessly pursued by the Italian station at Bari was already showing its effects in Egypt and Palestine, the main targets of attack. The British broadcasters limited their propaganda efforts to "straight news," talks by Islamic scholars, and messages from Arab dignitaries friendly to Great Britain. These programs were comparatively dull and unimaginative, better suited to a British than to an Arab audience, and were no match for the highly emotional, scandal-mongering, and entertaining programs emanating from Bari. As time went on, however, the B.B.C. enlivened its programs and was able to increase the size of its audience in the Middle East. The British also had direct or indirect control of radio stations in Middle Eastern countries; and set up "free" stations at several points; through these they could deal with local issues more directly, "retaliate" when necessary, and control the radio output as required by the exigencies of the war.

The American wartime radio propaganda directed by the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information (OWI) from the very beginning took an "informative character." Always opening with "This is the Voice of America, one of the United Nations," it emphasized the unity among the Allies. It advertised the Atlantic Charter, UNNRRA, and all the efforts in

which the Allies were engaged for the liberation of the European countries. The American radio devoted the major part of its daily broadcasts to news and features explaining the United States — its educational and scientific institutions, its agriculture and industry, its political organization from municipal to federal levels, its voluntary social agencies, its wartime efforts. Whenever Arab dignitaries, such as the Regent of Iraq or a Saudi prince journeyed to this country, extensive coverage was given to their activities and their itineraries, using their visits as an occasion to describe the American scene. The American program refrained from any "retaliation" or direct denial of Axis allegations, emphasizing, rather, positive achievements and plans. For example, instead of arguing against Axis accusations of U. S. imperialism, it described the history of the U. S. in the Philippines and the granting of independence to that country.

Russian broadcasters at first limited themselves to news, particularly to news of military events. Toward the end of the war they increased the amount of comment in their programs, and at times entered into direct controversy and argument with specific editors of Turkish and Iranian newspapers. They attacked those Turkish editors who had made what they regarded as exaggerated claims for the importance of Turkey's neutral role to the Allied cause, or had demanded special privileges for Turkey in the Balkans. In Iran, the Moscow radio undertook the defense of the leftist papers, castigating not only the editors of the pro-government and rightist papers, but on occasion the government itself.

French radio propaganda changed its content and extent in accordance with the French political situation. The French first started by defending themselves against prewar Italian attacks on their position in North Africa through stations at Rabat (Morocco), Algiers, and a newly created station at Tunis. Later the Free French built and operated a station in Brazzaville (French Equatorial Africa) and until the recovery of North Africa broadcast their propaganda from there as best they could.

### III

It is impossible to describe, even briefly, all the means of war-time propaganda used by both the Axis and the Allies in the



Middle East. As a single example of a campaign which was developed to the full we may take Germany's propaganda war on Turkey.

The Germans broadcast seven fifteen-minute radio transmissions in Turkish each day: four from Berlin, and one each from Bucharest, Sofia, and Tirana (Albania). In addition to the news in these programs, which came at convenient listening hours in Turkey, the Germans provided excellent music and entertainment for the Turkish audience. Mechanical reception was good.

In addition to its radio activity, German propaganda strove to exercise an influential role over the Turkish press. There were six German news services at work in Turkey. Two of these, Transkontinent Press and Nachrichten Presse Dienst, issued together four daily bulletins which went to Turkish papers not only in Istanbul and Ankara, but also by wire or telephone to the provincial papers in the interior. Because these news services were regular and free, they had no difficulty in competing with the relatively inefficient service of the official Turkish Anatolia Agency. The bulletins were used by most Turkish papers, including some of the pro-Allied press.

According to reports, Germans gave financial assistance to certain Turkish papers; in other instances, an editor or sub-editor was subsidized, sometimes without the knowledge of the publisher. To induce newspapers to toe the German line, newsprint — a very scarce item during the war — was supplied or withdrawn by the German agents. Well-paid advertisements would be sent to a paper accompanied with a request to publish a specific news item — probably a "plant." In general, German subsidies went to the Turkish papers or periodicals with a strong nationalistic and Pan-Turanian inclination, and with comment and editorials highly critical of the Allies.<sup>2</sup>

The Germans directly controlled or published three papers themselves: the French language *Beyoğlu* and *Istanbul*, which was the official organ of the Vichy French, and the German language *Türkische Post*, until it was closed by the Turkish Government in August 1944. In addition, the Germans distributed the illus-

<sup>2</sup> In Arab countries, Nazi agents also paid subversive groups, such as the *Misr al-Fatah* and the *Ikhwan al-Muslimun* in Egypt, to run propaganda against the British in Palestine.



trated magazine *Signal* in French, German, and English editions prepared by their Propaganda Ministry. German papers like *Voelkischer Beobachter* and *Das Allgemeine Zeitung* were regularly made available through German booksellers long established in Istanbul, who also sold German and Turkish books published in Germany. These booksellers served, too, as "letter boxes" for Nazi agents. German-made or German-approved films were supplied to the Turkish theaters; German war pictures were shown at the Embassy or at the German Teutonia Club in Istanbul.

The Germans utilized to the full still other channels of influence. From the Embassy of Franz von Papen down to the German-owned business houses, German agents engaged in a smooth teamwork aimed at influencing Turkish opinion in all classes of society, including senior officers in government and military circles. General Rhode and Admiral Marvitz, military and naval attachés of the German Embassy, entertained lavishly and cultivated the friendship of retired or reservist Turkish officers who had served with Germans during World War I. In addition to this clique, propaganda agents kept in constant touch with the many Turks who had received their technical or professional training in Germany and were occupying important positions in schools, technical institutes, railroads, mining and industrial establishments, agricultural institutions, and the government itself. They also cultivated, whenever possible, the friendship of doctors, professors, and students who were regarded as key people in their respective groups or in the community at large. Promising students, from the German point of view, were given scholarships to study in Germany until the bombing of Berlin and other cities made it necessary for the Turkish Government to order them out. The Germans also sent lecturers like Fritsche and outstanding musicians like Giesecking to tour in the country.

The Germans did not neglect to use their business transactions with the Turks for propaganda purposes. Financial aid to Turkey was not always given through impersonal government agencies, but also through well-known German firms and business houses. In their business contacts, the Germans avoided the representatives of the Turkish minorities in order not to alienate Turkish public opinion; they tried, rather, to engage the services of influ-

ential Turks or members of well-established and well-known Turkish families.

Turkey's neutral status up to February 1945 was well utilized by Germany for its propaganda purposes not only in Turkey itself, but as a center for the entire Middle East. From Ankara and Istanbul, German agents infiltrated Arab countries, and information from and to these countries was relayed to Berlin. The German radio thus was able to report in Arabic back to Palestine its own version of events which had happened there the very same day or even only a few hours before the broadcast.

The propaganda activities of no other nation — Allied or Axis — in the entire Middle East were as multiform, as thorough, as well organized, and as expensive as were those of the Germans in Turkey. The question may well be asked why, then, this smooth-running machine was not more successful in winning Turkey to Germany's side.

Many factors entered into the picture, and illustrate the limitations of the most assiduous propaganda campaign. In the first place, Germany was never able to overcome Turkish fears of domination, particularly economic domination, by Germany. Secondly, Turkey was anxious, because of its extremely exposed geographical position, to retain its neutrality and not commit itself irrevocably to one side or the other before the final die was cast. Allied propaganda, also, using many of the same tools as the German, was relatively successful in negating the effect of the latter. But of greatest importance was the trend of political, economic, and above all military events, which must corroborate propaganda to make it effective. German propaganda prepared the ground, but could not pay off without military success; propaganda proved wrong is likely to bring the opposite reaction from that originally intended.

#### IV

Evaluating the effectiveness of a propaganda program is difficult and always hazardous, especially when there exist no objective methods of checking, such as interviews, questionnaires, or panels. Assumedly action is the best criterion to use in evaluating wartime propaganda; but this is not as easy as it sounds, for

action — political or military — always depends on other factors. Popular attitudes do not always, especially in wartime, determine government action. Public opinion, because of restricting regulations placed upon it, may remain latent though formed.

It may be surmised that Axis propaganda had a hand in the Palestine revolts of 1936-39 and the Iraqi "incident" in 1941. Had the Germans established themselves in Iraq or in Syria and Lebanon after the fall of France, had General Rommel's Afrika Korps taken Suez or Von Paulus overpowered Stalingrad, then Axis propaganda might have shown its effectiveness in helping to line up the Middle Eastern peoples on the Axis side. That Turkey and the Arab countries did not turn to the Axis is not to be explained by the greater effectiveness of Allied propaganda or the lack of effectiveness of Axis propaganda. Nevertheless, the propaganda efforts of both Allied and Axis powers were undoubtedly well worth the effort in preparing the way for full capitalization on victory if and when it should come.

Both the Axis and Allied propagandists tried to base the content and the quality of their propaganda on the attitudes, tastes, and educational levels of the Middle Eastern peoples. There is reason to believe that Axis broadcasts — German and Italian — were the more popular. Their highly colored, emotional programs, making the most of the common tastes and beliefs of the masses, providing music and entertainment, had greater appeal and were listened to more frequently in coffee houses and other assembly places than were the Allied offerings.

It may be surmised that the campaign of hate, the name calling, the derision, and the accusations which the Axis propagandists directed against the Allied nations will continue to have their subtle effect for some time to come. This devaluation of the European nations in the minds of the Arab masses will not be limited to any specific nation but will extend to Western civilization in general, tending to strengthen traditionalist, conservative groups in the Middle East. The anti-European and traditionalist attitude is most likely to express itself in increased nationalism and xenophobia, with opportunistic advantages to be sought in the division and conflict of European powers. This should not be taken to deny the existence in the Middle East of a class of people

who wish to establish constructive relationships with the Western nations for their mutual benefit. But this was not the class whose prestige was strengthened by wartime propaganda.

As for America's interest in building favorable and constructive attitudes in the Middle East, there is much to be done. For over a century American missionary and educational enterprises in the Middle East, because they were unrelated to political advantage or economic gain, had created a reservoir of good will toward the United States. Now that American economic enterprises are active in the Middle East and our political interest has been made manifest by the Truman Doctrine, the attitudes of the native peoples may well change unless through careful planning and practice we maintain a high moral standard in our dealings with them. Should ever short-range economic profit or political opportunism dictate our policy and obstruct the just and constructive aspirations of the peoples in the Middle East, our prestige will be short lived.

It would be unfortunate if with the termination of the war period our planned activities to acquaint the Middle Eastern peoples with the United States should cease, for it is only through long constructive, peacetime effort that a bulwark against wartime crisis can be built up. It would be unwise to assume that the Arab masses may not be affected by propaganda from communist quarters. American propagandists must be careful, therefore, not to limit their attention to the so-called upper classes in whose hands the economic and political power is for the present concentrated, but to direct it to all social classes in the Middle East. Nor should they be limited to radio broadcasting which is usually a hit and miss affair, but should be free to concentrate their efforts on key figures in different groups and localities. To change effectively the behavior of any group, the individual who is looked to or admired or imitated is the individual to be influenced. Above all, it should be remembered that in the end the Middle Eastern peoples will cast their destiny with the nation or nations that have consistently upheld moral standards beyond temporary economic gain or political advantage, with those which have sought not to use the native peoples as instruments toward a selfish desire, but to help them attain their own legitimate goals.



# ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE NEW TURKEY

*Ömer Celâl Sarc*

WHEN the Turkish Republic came into being in 1923, the most urgent problem it had to face was that of economic development. Twelve years of almost continuous warfare had brought enormous losses to an already sparsely peopled and impoverished country. With a territory of roughly 300,000 square miles, Turkey's population did not exceed 13,000,000, about 80 percent of which was rural in character. Industry in the modern sense was nonexistent. Even the manufacture of the most elementary consumption goods, such as sugar and flour, was either totally lacking or inadequate, and what factories did exist were largely under foreign control. The result was a complete dependence upon imports for industrial products. With the possible exception of tobacco and raisin growing, agriculture was markedly backward although it provided the main source of livelihood. Dependent upon the ancient wooden plough and a deteriorated livestock, production of even Turkey's chief crop, wheat, fell short of domestic consumption.

The difficulties of transport figured largely in this sorry picture. There were no more than some 2,500 miles of railways; and a large proportion of the roads, inadequate at best, were impassable during many months of the year. Although the country also labored under a heavy foreign debt, the balance of trade was continually unfavorable. All this led to an extremely low standard of living especially among the peasants, who, though not underfed, were deprived of many of the first necessities of welfare.

## *EARLY TRENDS IN ECONOMIC POLICY*

When the Turkish Government set about solving the country's economic problems, it found itself confronted by three serious

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obstacles. The first was a deficiency of experience and knowledge in the economic field. Prior to 1923, the Turks had in the main served as farmers, soldiers, or government employees and had left industry and trade to the minorities and resident foreigners, many of whom now left the country. A second handicap was the fact that the great mass of peasants, with a very high percentage of illiteracy, were characterized by a pronounced conservatism and traditionalism, by an astonishing absence of any urge to improve their living conditions, a mentality which acted as a deterrent to progress. Finally, there was a serious lack of domestic capital with which to launch schemes of economic development.

The Turkish Government adopted at first an economic policy which, though still within the theoretical bounds of capitalism, was nevertheless highly protectionist. In practice, it betrayed a tendency to dominate in the economic sphere, and a predilection for the creation of monopolies. In the very first years of the republic, the nationalization of the railways was decided in principle. As soon as the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) assigned intercoastal trade to Turkish ships, the government proceeded to enlarge its own merchant fleet, and to place the services in major ports under governmental management. Despite a strong current in favor of abolishing the tobacco monopoly, not only it and other monopolies inherited from the Ottoman Empire were taken over by the government, but new activities such as the importation of sugar and petroleum products, and the importation, manufacture, and sale of matches and (with certain exceptions) alcoholic drinks, were organized as monopolies.

But all this did not seem incompatible with a capitalistic economic order, since the monopolies in question involved items of normal taxation, and state ownership of railways and ships is also to be found in numerous capitalistic countries. The government, moreover, concurrently tried to stimulate private enterprise through far-reaching protective measures. Special privileges were granted those establishing sugar factories. A law for the encouragement of industries provided great facilities for privately-owned industrial establishments. Above all, by proclaiming private ownership and freedom of enterprise as fundamental principles in the Turkish Constitution, and by adjusting its basic

laws to these principles (especially by adopting the Swiss Civil Code), the republic manifested its intention to keep the capitalistic order alive.

However, by the early thirties an expression of anti-capitalistic ideology became increasingly conspicuous in certain publications. A section of the intelligentsia, impressed by the world economic crisis and by the experiments in Russia, began to decry capitalism as out of date and unfit to ensure the development of backward countries. Capitalism was identified with imperialism. It was accused of having led to the exploitation and domination of the Ottoman Empire and other undeveloped countries by foreign capital; of having hindered their industrialization and left them in the state of merely agrarian countries — that is, of half-colonies. Without taking into consideration the fact that the situation in the Ottoman Empire was closely related to the political weakness of the state itself, something which could not be said of the republic, this group argued that since economic experience and capital were lacking in Turkey, a policy based on free enterprise would necessarily end by re-establishing foreign control over the country's economy.

This trend of thought won ground. Undue importance was easily attributed to the danger of domination by foreign capital, for vivid still was the memory of the foreign Administration of the Public Debt, forming a state within a state, and of the capitulations, which by depriving the government of the right to increase tariffs and impose certain taxes on foreigners had hindered efficient protection of domestic production and a reform of the tax system. Moreover, the fact that the devastations caused by the world crisis abroad had called forth increasing state interference in so-called capitalistic countries seemed to confirm the thesis that capitalism was vanishing as an economic order.

Developments within Turkey also tended to arouse mistrust in the efficiency of private enterprise, at least in regard to Turkey. The measures taken to stimulate private activity had had no visible effect in the short time since their adoption. True, many private industrial establishments had been founded, but they were mostly small, badly equipped, and dependent upon the pro-

tection given them by the high tariff of 1929. The fact that private industry had not diminished, to any appreciable extent, Turkey's dependence upon imports was causing disappointment.

To strengthen these arguments came the problems arising from the world economic crisis. The prices and export volume of many agricultural products fell sharply. As the corresponding decline in the world prices of industrial products had been on the whole less marked, there was fear that the chronic deficit in Turkey's balance of trade would grow, and that the rise in rates of exchange which had prevailed since 1926 would be accelerated.

Under these circumstances, the government deemed it necessary to create in the shortest time possible an industrial establishment which would utilize domestic raw materials, securing thereby both a market for their producers and a diminution in the volume of imports. It was also decided that this could not be achieved through capitalistic means, even when supported by protective measures and supplemented by numerous governmental monopolies. Only by a planned participation of the state in economic expansion could the problem be solved. A theoretical formulation for this development in economic policy was necessary, and so was born the doctrine of *étatisme*.

#### ADOPTION OF *ÉTATISME*

The Republican Peoples Party, the governmental and only political party in Turkey at the time, adopted *étatisme* in 1933 as one of its six cardinal principles. In 1936 the Party had it written in as an amendment to the constitution. The definition the party gave to *étatisme*, according to its program for 1935, was in essence as follows: Private enterprise would continue to be fundamental in Turkey's economic system. But in order to lead the country in as short a time as possible to prosperity the state would take an active part in its economic life. The government's role would consist of encouragement to private endeavors; of their regulation and supervision; and finally of direct economic activity by the state. This last was to be resorted to only in so far as the vital interests of the nation required.

The party's definition is clear on one point: by stating that private enterprise would remain fundamental, it asserted that

*étatisme* was not socialism. Even the most vehement critics of capitalism in Turkey have not advocated that it should be replaced by socialism, and Atatürk himself emphasized that Turkish *étatisme* was in no way an adoption of any of the socialist theories.<sup>1</sup> But since no sensible adherent of the capitalistic order today would oppose state activity when required by the vital interests of the country, the definition given above does not clearly differentiate *étatisme* from capitalism.

Indeed, it is very doubtful if a satisfactory definition of *étatisme* can ever be given. Its nature will be determined, rather, by the way it is applied. In order to understand the meaning of Turkish *étatisme* we must therefore examine its manifestations as they have become apparent through the economic measures adopted by the government.

#### CURRENCY AND FINANCE

Although not directly related to *étatisme*, the Turkish Government's financial measures must be outlined in order to bring into perspective some of the essential features of its economic policy. Financial stability was a necessary prerequisite to Turkey's industrial development. The budget of the Ottoman Empire was never balanced, even ordinary expenditure often being financed by long-term foreign loans, which led, in the end, to an enormous growth in the foreign debt with all its implications. This served as an object lesson to the government of the republic. Budgetary equilibrium was accepted as a basic principle and was actually attained by 1926. The budget even covered through ordinary revenue, at least for several years, such extraordinary expenditure as the cost of railway construction. The government had recourse to long-term loans only from 1931 onward, and then only for productive purposes and on a limited scale. Furthermore, these were launched mostly in the domestic capital market. Foreign debts of the government consisted in the main of credits secured abroad for the purchase of industrial equipment, and of compensation to be paid to the foreign owners of the nationalized railways and public utilities. As the debts

<sup>1</sup> See *2inci 5-yıllık Sanayi Planı* (The Second Five-Year Industrial Plan), İktisat Vekaleti Sanayi Tetkik Heyeti, (Ankara, 1936).

inherited from the Ottoman Empire were also consolidated and written down, the size of the public debt remained moderate. The total of T.L. 554,000,000 (app. \$420,000,000) in 1939 (for the state and other public bodies) corresponded roughly to only twice the fiscal revenue in the same year. Of this total, T.L. 207,000,000 (app. \$156,820,000) represented foreign debts.<sup>2</sup>

During World War II this situation changed in some respects. The additional expenditure brought on by constant military preparedness had to be financed to a great extent by money borrowed from the Central Bank against short-term treasury bonds. These loans led to an enormous expansion of the currency in circulation (from T.L. 280,000,000 in 1939 to about 900,000,000 in 1946), and greatly increased the floating debt. But the total public debt remained relatively small. It amounted in 1947 to about T.L. 1,600,000,000, while the annual revenue had increased to about 900,000,000. However, on account of the high rate of interest (normally 7%), annuities represent a relatively heavy charge.<sup>3</sup>

In its fiscal policy, the government has striven to lighten the burden of the peasants at the expense of the urban population. The tithe, which constituted a heavy charge on agriculture, and which by its primitive form hindered an intensification of production, was abolished in 1925 despite the fact that it represented the chief source of income. It was replaced by so-called indirect taxes (monopolies, taxes on consumption and turnover, etc.) which together with the customs duties yield today about 60 percent of the total revenue. The system still suffers from grave shortcomings, being unable to provide as large an income as it might, and working great injustice in certain categories, especially on the receivers of fixed incomes. A reform, including an income tax, is now being prepared.

One of the aims of the government's monetary policy has been to keep the value of the lira stable. With this end in view it refrained, up to World War II, from inflationary measures; it in-

<sup>2</sup> F. Neumark, "Problèmes des Finances Publiques d'Après-Guerre en Turquie," *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, VIII (1-4), pp. 97-8. See also, *Istatistik Yıllığı* (Statistical Yearbook) XII (1940/1), pp. 227-8.

<sup>3</sup> F. Neumark, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Namik Zeki Aral, "Devlet Borçları" (National Debts), *Tasvir*, Jan. 8, 1948; "Turkey," *Overseas Economic Surveys*, September 1947 (London 1948), p. 158. On the rate of interest on state loans, see F. Neumark, *op. cit.*, p. 108.



creased the gold reserves; and when the exchange value of the lira seemed threatened in 1930, it resorted to drastic import restrictions that attained, temporarily, a favorable balance of trade. But a decline in the domestic value of the currency could not be prevented. Owing to the fact that Germany, then the most important trader with Turkey, began to purchase Turkish products at prices exceeding those on the world market, the general price level rose gradually from 1935 on. To this trend was added, in World War II, the inflationary expansion of the currency already referred to. Since there was no income tax with which to mop up surplus purchasing power in the upper income brackets, and since rationing could not be applied (apart from a few commodities such as bread, tea, and coffee),<sup>4</sup> wholesale prices and the cost of living rose sharply, the latter to about four times its prewar level. The standard of living of the fixed income class has suffered accordingly, the real income of government employees, for example, now amounting on the average to not more than 50 or 60 percent of the prewar value.

Wartime inflation also created great disparity between the domestic and foreign values of the Turkish lira.<sup>5</sup> While the general cost of living increased up to 400 percent, the official rates of exchange rose only slightly. A premium of 40 percent at sale and 48 percent at purchase of foreign currency on the prewar rates allowed since 1944 on most import and export transactions only partially made up the difference. Both to correct this discrepancy and to stimulate exports, the government proceeded in September 1946 to an approximately 50 percent devaluation of the lira.

<sup>4</sup> Wide-scale rationing was a practical impossibility because of the relative inaccessibility of certain districts, the lack of proper storing facilities, and the absence of both correct production and consumption statistics and an administrative machinery capable of functioning satisfactorily. A certain popular distrust of the effectiveness of this sort of governmental action represented a further difficulty. It must also be admitted that the government did not show sufficient foresight in not reckoning with a shortage of food products and an increase in the cost of living.

<sup>5</sup> The dollar exchange value of the Turkish lira (= 100 kuruş) since 1938 has been as follows:

1938 (official)	126
(black market)	over 200
1943 (official)	131
1944 Commercial transactions:	
At sale of dollars (40% premium)	183
At purchase of dollars (48% premium)	193
1946 September (official)	280
1948 (official)	280
(black market)	app. 380

But as most of the products Turkey can export today (tobacco, raisins, figs, etc.) are not those which impoverished Europe now chiefly demands, and as the decrease of exports has been due not so much to the high price of Turkish products as to the loss of Central European markets, the devaluation has not led to a substantial improvement. On the contrary, it has reversed the downward trend of the general price level which had begun to be noticeable.

### TRANSPORTATION

A second prerequisite to economic advancement, after the institution of a sound financial policy, was the development of the means of transportation, an expensive and difficult process in Turkey's rugged terrain. The government concentrated on an expansion of the railway network. More than 2,000 miles of new railroads were constructed by the state during the years 1927-45. The sums spent for these new lines, which pass mostly through still thinly populated areas, represented up to World War II some 8 or 9 percent of the annual governmental expenditure, totalling in all some T.L. 350-400,000,000. The nationalization of the existing lines operated by private companies involved the state in a debt of some 350,000,000 Swiss francs.<sup>6</sup>

Turkey's road system has received relatively little attention, and remains today far less adequate than the railroad network. Although statistics show that mileage has almost doubled since 1923, the average density of the roads amounts to only one thirteenth of the figure for the United States, and most of those that do exist still, as in Ottoman days, allow passage only in certain months of the year.<sup>7</sup>

The Turkish merchant fleet amounted in 1923 to only 35,000

<sup>6</sup> The compensation to be paid the foreign owners of the various nationalized railways has been fixed mostly in Swiss francs, but partly also in French and English currency. The figure given here has been computed by converting the sums as expressed in French francs and sterling into Swiss francs on the basis of the exchange value of these currencies at the date at which the railways were purchased. It corresponds to approximately \$80,000,000 at the 1938 rate of exchange between the dollar and the Swiss franc. This debt is paid back in annuities and its capital value is included in the figure for the public debt of the state given in the text on p. 435. For details on the prices at which the different railway lines were purchased, see Fazıl Pelin, *Finans İlmî ve Finansal Kanunlar (Science of Finance and Financial Laws)* (Istanbul 1942), p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> On Turkey's road system, see Muhlis Ete, *Münakalat (Means of Transport)* (Istanbul 1938), pp. 144-52, especially p. 149; *İstatistik Yılıgi*, XV (1943/4), p. 449, XVI (1944/5), p. 501.

net register tons. In 1947, despite the fact that some ships lost or retired during the war had not yet been fully replaced, the state alone possessed vessels of 88,000 net register tons. Another 34,000 tons, much of it excessively old, was owned by private persons. But as Turkey possesses 4,000 miles of seashore, its present merchant fleet, like its roads, is quite inadequate.<sup>8</sup>

*Étatism* has manifested itself in the field of shipping in a particularly vivid manner. Private owners, neglecting unprofitable lines, so competed among themselves for the profitable ones, that freight rates fell sharply. This led the government to bring all private shipowners within a single corporation. Later, in 1935, the state acquired a monopoly of scheduled lines and of the transport of passengers, so that private operators are now limited to tramp navigation and to the transport of merchandise.

On the other hand, the construction of ports — of great importance owing to the absence of natural harbors on either the Black Sea or Mediterranean shores of Turkey — has been on the whole neglected. Even Zonguldak, the center of Turkey's coal district on the Black Sea coast, still has no adequate accommodation for ships, although construction of a port was recently begun.

As a result, transportation costs are extremely high. To give one comparative example, it cost before the war 7 liras merely to transport one cubic meter of timber to the Izmit paper factory from forests only 30 miles away. The c.i.f. price in Izmit of the same quantity of timber coming from northern Europe amounted to only 10.7 liras.<sup>9</sup>

#### AGRICULTURE

Although agriculture has received far more attention under the republic than in the days of the Ottoman Empire, it has not been favored to the extent that railways and industry have been. While sums equivalent to 8 or 9 percent of the total state expenditure were assigned annually to railroad construction, and

<sup>8</sup> On Turkey's merchant fleet, see Muhlis Ete, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-23; Fazıl Pelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-6; *Istatistik Yılığ*, XV (1943/4), pp. 506-7, XVI (1944/5), pp. 558-9. The figures for the vessels owned by the state include various craft used in urban transport (about 11,000 net registered tons in 1947).

<sup>9</sup> Figures from an official report on the Izmit paper factory.

after 1933 about the same amount was spent for industrialization, the appropriations for the Ministry of Agriculture in general did not exceed 3 percent.

The measures which were taken have been inadequate and often unco-ordinated. Some vital problems have not been tackled seriously at all, or have been approached only recently. Up to 1937, only T.L. 31,000,000 had been spent on projects to increase Turkey's available water supply; to protect the peasant from the devastating effects of the frequent droughts, and to enlarge, by draining swamps, the present relatively small arable area would require works on a far greater scale. Although important sums have been allotted for various water control schemes, World War II did not permit their execution; the allied problem of effective malaria control remains one of Turkey's greatest tasks.

Rural education, of basic importance in view of the peasant's stolid attitude toward a change in his traditional habits, was not dealt with effectively until about 1938. It has always presented a difficult problem, for Turkey's rural population lives in over 40,000 small, scattered, and frequently isolated villages, so that tens of thousands of schools and teachers are required to serve them. But in the last ten years much effort has been put into this field. Eighteen large village institutes have been founded which will provide all the needed teachers in a relatively short time, presumably by 1955. In 1945-6 the number of village schools had reached 12,478 as against 4,852, in 1936-7.<sup>10</sup> Illiteracy among the peasant youth already is diminishing rapidly.

Some of the measures taken in favor of agriculture were aimed at increasing, or rather at preventing the decrease of, the money income of the peasant at the expense of other incomes. To these belong, besides the abolition of the tithe and the shifting of the burden of taxation from the rural to the urban population, the tariff protection granted agricultural products, and the price support provided by governmental purchases through an office especially created for the purpose.

The government has tried to improve the quality of seed and livestock, to standardize various products, and to replace

<sup>10</sup> *Millî Eğitim İlk Öğretim İstatistikleri, 1945-46* (Ministry of Education Statistics on Primary Instruction, 1945-46), No. 280, p. iv.

the wooden plough by the iron one. It has fought against plant and animal diseases, and has encouraged the foundation of agricultural co-operative societies. Some of these measures have been successful: the number of livestock has grown substantially; the quality of certain crops, especially cotton and citrus fruits, has shown a marked amelioration; and wheat production has increased — since 1930, despite the growth of population, a small quantity (a yearly average of 65,000 tons during the period 1932-38) has been available for export.

But basic problems of agriculture have remained unsolved. The technique of production is still essentially unchanged; large-scale irrigation schemes have not been carried out. Cereal production is therefore still highly dependent upon the weather and the amount of available labor. During the war, when large numbers of peasants were mobilized, the production of wheat diminished to such an extent that again it did not even cover domestic consumption. The result was an enormous rise in price, from 5.6 kuruş the kilo in 1938 to 90 in 1943.<sup>11</sup>

While the peasants' technique and methods of production have remained fundamentally backward, the state itself has engaged in scientific farming. Apart from the model farms it operates for demonstration and experimental purposes, it has established, on so far untilled land, agricultural enterprises which with the aid of modern machines produce great quantities of cereals for the market. The area cultivated in this fashion amounted in 1944 to 78,000 hectares (app. 31,200 acres), but this is to be an emergency measure. These state farms are not to be maintained as some kind of *sovhoze*, but will be converted into model farms as soon as normal times return.

The state has interfered directly in land ownership through the land and forest laws of 1945. The former authorized the government to expropriate individual property holdings larger than 500 hectares (app. 200 acres) — in certain cases even those larger than 5 hectares — in order to allot the land to peasants possessing none, and against payment to the previous owners of the assessed price in twenty-year bonds.

It is difficult to justify this confiscatory provision of the law.

*Istatistik Yılıgı*, XV (1943/4), pp. 220, 306.



True, the cultivated area today is only 17 percent of the total, and as about 80 percent of the population is still rural, the Turkish peasant suffers from a scarcity of land. But since all available statistics show that great rural properties are on the whole very few in Turkey, the situation cannot be improved by their expropriation. It can be remedied only by intensifying agriculture, by a drift from agriculture toward industry and trade, and by extending the cultivatable areas. Due to the rugged nature of the country, the possibilities in this last respect may not be very large. But still there are many land reserves which can be utilized provided the necessary water schemes are carried out. For these reasons, and because of the insecurity it has brought to rural ownership and its tendency to favor the smallest type of farm, which is not rational in many branches of agriculture, the law has met with very strong opposition.

Private owners of forests have faced even more radical interference from the state. The law of 1945 nationalized all private forests and provided that they should be paid for in six annual installments. The law was designed as a measure to protect the forests from destruction. But in view of the opposition, the government has proceeded to a revision of both laws.

### INDUSTRY

The development of industry constituted the chief aim of Turkey's economic planning and the leading motive for the adoption of *étatisme*. The government's efforts since the early thirties have been mainly directed at creating a state-owned industrial establishment of substantial size. A number of privately-owned industrial enterprises were also brought under state control. Thus all coal mines were nationalized, and the private shareholders of the sugar factories built in the course of the twenties were bought out. In accordance with its successive five-year plans, the state proceeded to enlarge the factories it already possessed and to bring various new industries into existence. Together with the undertakings of public bodies and banks associated with the state, the list includes textile plants, cement factories, beet sugar factories, paper mills, mining enterprises, plants for the production of alcoholic drinks, a glass and bottle

factory, a rayon factory, and an iron and steel works.

As a result of this activity, the state has become the predominant and all-powerful industrial entrepreneur. It is the only producer of coal, iron ore, copper, sulphur, paper, sugar, rayon, steel and manufactured iron, and the chief producer of chrome and lignite. The wool and cotton industries are divided about equally between state and private ownership; in the leather, cement, silk, and especially the food industries, the state plays a less important role.

These industries have been financed partly by long-term credits granted by the foreign furnishers of factory equipment (especially the Soviet Union and Great Britain), and partly by ordinary revenues. The industries belonging to the state are attached to two holding concerns, the Sümer Bank and the Eti Bank, of which the first manages the factories and the second the mines. Upon the foundation of these banks in the early thirties, previously existing state enterprises were transferred to them and formed part of their capital. Their assets were further built up through annual appropriations from the state budget. These banks entertain no credit relations with private industry and confine their operations solely to state factories. They are under the direct control of the Ministry of Economics.

The capital invested by the state in its banks during the period 1933-39 is estimated at T.L. 135,000,000, which would correspond to about 8 or 9 percent of total expenditure in the same period.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, they still do not represent an important productive power. Few of the industries are capable of meeting domestic demand, not to speak of an exportable surplus, despite relatively low per capita consumption. The creation of these new industries has not affected to any appreciable extent the economic structure of the country, which remains overwhelmingly agricultural.

Turkey's dependence on imports remains undiminished to any significant degree. Many of the new plants have to use foreign raw materials. For example, wool for the manufacture of finer yarns, and skins for the manufacture of sole leather cannot be

<sup>12</sup> Vedad Eldem, "Les Progrès de l'Industrialisation en Turquie," *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, VIII (1-4), p. 73.

furnished in adequate quantity by domestic livestock. Pulp can be produced, but only at very high cost. The wool, paper, and leather industries are therefore partially dependent upon imports for their raw materials. Moreover, since the majority of plants established for the cotton industry are weaving mills, they have increased considerably the demand for cotton yarn.

The operation of state factories and mines has been characterized by high costs. The reasons are manifold. Some of the fac-



tories have been set up in districts where labor is not easily available. Others are far from their sources of raw material. The iron and steel works at Karabük, for example, lie 60 miles from the coal deposits and 550 miles from the iron ore, to which they are connected by no more than a one track railway. The plant, moreover, was designed to furnish a variety of products rather than a specialized few. Government factories are often administered inefficiently. The competence of their managers is limited, and the many formalities to which the latter are subject renders it impossible for them to take quick decisions. Salaries are insufficient, and are paid according to a fixed tariff, their amount depending less on ability than on years of service.

Governmental enterprises suffer as much as private from circumstances which tend to raise the cost of all industry in Turkey. The rate of interest on loans, the cost of transportation, and

especially the price of coal are all high. In fact, because of the backward technical equipment of the mines, domestic coal was, even before the war, considerably more expensive than foreign. Neither the lignite reserves, which unlike the coal deposits are located in scattered, easily accessible areas, nor the water power potentialities have been utilized so far to an extent sufficient to procure cheap energy. Lastly, qualified workers are few, and the efficiency of the unskilled worker is low. This in turn is chiefly due to the fact that the laborer normally retains his attachment to agriculture, staying in industry only for a short time, and therefore is unable to get adequate technical training.

Apart from the law for the encouragement of industries mentioned above, no other measures to foster private enterprise have been taken. On the contrary, since the creation of state industry, private companies have been burdened by increasing restrictions. A law passed in 1936 authorized the government to inquire into their costs and to establish the prices at which their products were to be sold. By virtue of this power, the prices of cement, cotton yarn, and certain other products were fixed even before the war. Some private companies are not free even as regards the salaries they pay to their staffs: those with a capital of over T.L. 2,000,000 must conform to an official tariff. Among the government's numerous restrictions, those aimed at protecting the laborer and at improving conditions under which he works are surely fully justified. Yet in spite of all these regulations, private industry as a whole was able, during the war, to make such large profits that the law for the encouragement of industry was deemed unnecessary and abolished. A new law is now in preparation.

#### CHARACTER OF ÉTATISM IN PRACTICE

This brief survey is sufficient to demonstrate that *étatisme*, in so far as the relation between the state and the private individual is concerned, has manifested itself in four different ways. First, the state has assumed the role of entrepreneur in many diverse fields. Besides operating railways, ships, farms, mines, factories, and exploiting forests, as indicated above, it acts as wholesale and retail trader of its products. Secondly, and what is



more important, many fields have been closed to private enterprise and monopolized by the state, either through explicit laws or *de facto* action. Among these activities are sugar and coal production, and the transportation of passengers on ships. Thirdly, the objects of private ownership have been limited. For example, if the provisions of the land and forest laws are fully carried out, it will be impossible for individuals to own either forests, or rural property exceeding a certain figure. Finally, in the limited sphere left to it, private enterprise is subject to strong regimentation. As regards the application of *étatisme*, it must also be said that the restrictions to be imposed on private activity and the field to be reserved to the state have not been determined according to a carefully prepared plan and have not been made known in advance. They were frequently set without warning by the bureaucratic apparatus and without consultation with experts or the business world.

It can be admitted that under the conditions prevailing in Turkey, particularly during the world crisis, an active role in the economic field is incumbent upon the state. But the manner in which it has been played has led to insecurity in the business world, and to a tendency to avoid investments, to keep capital liquid, and to show interest in only short-term undertakings.

Unnecessary restrictions have stimulated illicit ways of doing business. These, and the public abstention from investment, have called forth in turn new interventions by the state. *Étatisme*, as practiced up to the present time, has thus exhibited a propensity to fatten upon itself, and to develop into an economic order in which private activity no longer would be fundamental, despite the declared program of the People's Party. This was the intention of neither the Turkish people nor their leaders.

Opposition to *étatisme* has grown until even its most ardent adherents have felt the necessity of modifying the manner of its application. The People's Party, in its new program adopted in 1947, endeavored to draw a clearer line between the fields assigned to the state and those reserved to private industry, leaving the latter a greater scope for activity than heretofore. According to this program, the state will reserve for itself the large mining establishments, the heavy industries, the manufac-

ture of armaments, the establishment and operation of power stations, and public works. All other industries are to be left to private enterprise, with the provision, however, that it is capable of running them satisfactorily. The state will refrain from engaging in agriculture for profit.<sup>11</sup> A modification of the land and forest laws is also imminent, and there is even a move in favor of selling some of the state factories to private capitalists, or at least of ensuring the participation of private capital. A material change in the character of Turkish *étatisme* is therefore to be expected.

Turkey's economic planners, having no rule of thumb to guide them, have proceeded in some instances by trial and error, learning as they went. This has led, inevitably, to a degree of misjudgment of the rate and balance of economic development, as is illustrated by the failure to maintain power and means of transport in proper relation to industry. But the greatest fault has lain, perhaps, in not keeping clearly in view certain fundamental principles, primarily the proper relation between state and individual.

On the other hand it is also undeniable that Turkey's economic policy has to its credit some important achievements. The financial situation has been kept essentially sound despite the additional expenditure brought on by the war, and brilliant work has been done in the field of public instruction.

Above all, it is evident that economic conditions in the country have improved sensibly within the last twenty-five years. The increase in per capita consumption of basic commodities shows that the population is, as a whole, better off than before, although it has risen from 13,000,000 in 1923 to almost 20,000,000 today. The country has better productive equipment, better means of transportation, more experience and knowledge in the economic field, and does not suffer from serious social disruption. Moreover, past mistakes in economic policy having now been recognized, there is good reason to believe that they will not recur.

<sup>11</sup> C.H.P. *Programı ve Tüzüğü, 1947* (Republican People's Party Program and Plan, 1947), pp. 7-10. See especially articles 7 to 14 of the Program.

# DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

JUNE 1—AUGUST 31, 1948

THE FAILURE of the Arab League to forestall the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine — a process which either by accident or intent rid Israel of the majority of its large Arab population and thus deprived the Arab states of their most telling argument — was likely to react upon the Arab world in vital fashion. The immediate effect upon its foreign outlook was already apparent, the most obvious upshot being a shaken confidence in the aims of the United States. A popular reaction against the governments of the Arab states themselves was not so immediately evident. The Arab League, however, lost some of the prestige and initiative it had won during the spring months, when the fight against the partition of Palestine was rising to its climax. A depreciation of the Arab League would logically mean a set-back to middle-class, Western-educated leadership in the Arab national movement, and to the cause of an Arab unity transcending religious groupings. If young nationalists were turning in any direction, it was toward such organizations as the Ikhwan al-Muslimun (The Moslem Brethren) in Egypt, which preached national regeneration through a purified practice of Islam.

Big Power friction still centered in Berlin, yet Soviet and communist interest in the

Middle East was not entirely dormant. A Soviet attempt in the Security Council to have the USSR represented among the United Nations truce observers sent to Palestine was blocked by the abstention of all members except the Soviet Union and the Ukraine. In Turkey, twenty individuals were sentenced on July 14 to imprisonment for communist activity; and in India, Prime Minister Nehru's fear of the communists' tactics figured in his haste to reach a settlement with Hyderabad. More direct Soviet pressure was evident in Iran, with continued expressions of sympathy for the "democratic" struggle of the Azerbaijanis and Kurds, and particular castigation of the activities of the American gendarmerie and military missions. A revision of the scope of these missions, assigning to them a purely advisory rather than an administrative character, was under discussion by the U. S. and Iranian governments.

## Afghanistan

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

June 5: The U.S. Legation in Kabul was elevated to the status of an Embassy as Ambassador-designate Ely E. Palmer presented his letters of credence to the King.

July 5: Abd al-Majid Khan, Minister of Economics, arrived in New York.

<sup>1</sup> In general, items in the Chronology are drawn from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated.

## Egypt

## CHRONOLOGY

1948

**June 4:** A 4-hour sea battle between a 2,500-ton transport ship, an LCT, and a small destroyer all belonging to Egypt, and planes and a single corvette-type warship belonging to Israel took place off Tel Aviv. The Egyptian vessels retired without landing troops.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Egyptian Senate rejected British proposals in regard to the future administration of the Sudan.

**June 5:** Cairo newspapers stated the Jews of Cairo had donated £E40,000 as "a greeting to Egypt and her army and as an expression of loyalty to King Farouk."

**June 8:** The Egyptian Senate approved a £E21,000,000 credit to maintain the Egyptian Army.

S. Pinckney Tuck, former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, was appointed a member of the board of the Suez Canal Company, the first American to act in that capacity.

**June 9:** Husayn Tawfik Ahmad, murderer of Egyptian Finance Minister Sir Amin Osman Pasha, escaped from a doctor's office where he had been taken for treatment.

**June 14:** British Foreign Under-Secretary Christopher Mayhew announced in the House of Commons that in view of the breakdown in Anglo-Egyptian talks, Sir Robert Howe, British Governor-General of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, would be free to proceed with a project granting the Sudanese a greater degree of self-government.

**June 20:** Egyptian officials blamed two severe explosions in the Jewish quarter of Cairo, killing 31 persons and injuring 43, on accidental detonations of stored fireworks.

**June 25:** Egyptian planes strafed a UN plane, and Egyptians refused to allow an Israeli convoy to go through their lines to settlements in the Negeb, thus violating the Palestine truce on two counts. The UN withdrew all its representatives from Egyptian-held Palestine and protested to the Egyptian Government.

**June 26:** The Egyptian Government was accused by the Israeli Government of a truce violation in attacking Kfar Darom settlement below Gaza.

**July 8:** Stanton Griffis received a recess appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Egypt.

**July 17:** Two Frenchmen were killed in an anti-foreign riot in Cairo which followed an unnecessary air alert. (London Times, July 17, page 3.)

The British War Office announced the appointment of Major-General L. O. Lynne to be General Officer Commanding, British Troops, Egypt (January, 1949). (London Times, July 17, page 4.)

**July 18:** The British Government disclosed that the British Ambassador in Cairo had been instructed to seek the approval of the Egyptian Government for further development of central Africa's water power.

**July 19:** An ordinance, not acceded to by the Egyptian Government, was published in London creating an executive council and elected legislative assembly for the Sudan. The ordinance, a first step toward self-government, would make all Sudanese males not less than 25 years old and possessing tenancy or tax-paying qualifications eligible to vote. (Brookings Institution: *Summary of Developments in Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy*, May-June 1948.)

A mob stoned Stephen Haas, a naturalized U. S. Jew, to death while he was sight-seeing near the Citadel in Cairo. An Egyptian couple and nearby British family were injured, and Haas' wife was roughly handled but saved from injury by an Egyptian fireman.

**July 24:** The murderer of Egyptian Finance Minister Sir Amin Osman Pasha, Husayn Tawfik Ahmad, was sentenced in absentia to 10 years in prison at hard labor; a reward of \$20,000 had been posted for him since his escape June 9.

**July 28:** The second department store explosion in 10 days was reported in Cairo.

**Aug. 1:** The Egyptian Government rejected Israel's suggestion for direct peace negotiations on the Palestine situation.

**Aug. 23:** The World Jewish Congress protested against the UN Economic and Social Council decision to postpone consideration of acts of persecution against Jews in the Arab countries, particularly Egypt. The Congress stated 150 Jews were murdered and hundreds wounded in Cairo during June and July; 800 to 1,000 Jews, it reported, had been arrested since mid-May.

**Aug. 29:** Muhammad Haydar Pasha, Egyptian Defense Minister, conveyed to the UN Mediator's Chief of Staff his government's agreement to the proposed arrangements for a neutral zone surrounding the Red Cross enclave in Jerusalem on condition that Israeli forces withdraw simultaneously with the Arab.

The Egyptian Government admitted that Egyptian machine gun fire had killed two French UN observers August 28 over Gaza.



## India and Pakistan

The twin problems of Kashmir and Hyderabad continued to dominate India's foreign relations. The path to an agreement on Kashmir was not made smoother by increased evidence of the active participation of regular Pakistani troops in the desultory fighting, nor by India's qualified reception of the UN Commission, which arrived in New Delhi on July 12. Already irritated by the Security Council's retention of the Pakistani accusation of genocide in its instructions to the Commission, Indian leaders were little disposed to permit the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir under the auspices of the UN. The only progress made toward a settlement was the August 14 proposal of the UN Commission for a truce pending investigation of the outstanding problems in Pakistani-Indian relations. When the Commission indicated that its first concern was to establish the facts rather than to force a solution, this preliminary proposal was sympathetically received by both sides but no final decision was reached.

In contrast to the dispute over Kashmir, which tended to mark time, the differences between India and Hyderabad were pushed by New Delhi toward what appeared to be an imminent showdown. India based its attack on juridical grounds, primarily on alleged violations of the Standstill Agreement of November 29, 1947, which was to run for a period of one year. The publicized complaints included the January 1948 loan of \$60,000,000 to Pakistan and the refusal of the Nizam to recognize the paramountcy of India as successor to Great Britain. Both stemmed from a fundamental disagreement as to the nature of Hyderabad's independence following the partition of India in August 1947. The Government of India based its interpretation of limited sovereignty on the statements of the departing viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, urging the Princely States to seek inclusion within either India or Pakistan, depending upon their geographical location; there was, however, no written commitment in the partition instrument that such a state as Hyderabad could not elect to

remain completely independent if it so desired.

It became increasingly clear during the summer, however, that political expediency took precedence over juridical considerations. There was little doubt that the Nizam had come increasingly under the domination of a fanatical Muslim group, and that the large Hindu population of Hyderabad could expect little if any actual representation in the government. The increasing power of communism in the Telengana district of Hyderabad as well as in the neighboring districts of the Madras Presidency, and the danger it spelled to Indian nationalism, was also a factor in Prime Minister Nehru's thinking. Although referring to communism as an "excellent gospel" in his Madras address of July 26, Nehru castigated the methods that communists used to propagate their doctrine. To these fears of a hostile and even subversive state in the heart of India's territory was to be added Prime Minister Nehru's personal antipathy to the Nizam's system of government, a factor which could play a deciding role in shaping the tactics India would employ.

Hyderabad, in self-defense against India's belligerent approach, appealed to the Security Council on August 24. India, in accordance with its stand that Hyderabad enjoyed only limited sovereignty, was prepared to argue that the United Nations had no jurisdiction over what it regarded as a domestic problem.

## CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 1:* An Indian Delegation headed by Finance Minister S. R. K. Shanmukam Chetty arrived in London for United Kingdom-Indian talks on sterling balances. (*India Today*, July 1948).

According to an Indian Information Service bulletin, India set up a Department of Scientific Research under the Prime Minister to take over the work of the Board of Atomic Research and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

*June 2:* J. Klahr Huddle was named the U. S. Representative on the Security Council's Kashmir Commission.

*June 3:* The Security Council voted 8-0 (China, the USSR, and Ukraine abstaining) to empower the UN Kashmir Commission to study and report on the other disputes between Pakistan and India as well as to supervise the plebiscite for Kashmir. These would include claims to Junagadh and Pakistan's charges against India of genocide and violation of financial and property agreements.

*June 5:* The Indian Government instructed its representative at the UN to sign the Geneva agreement on reciprocal tariff concessions. India would receive tariff concessions on such items as cotton goods, mica, jute, cashew nuts, carpets, spices, tea, tobacco, and shellac, and would grant them on milk products, canned food, certain machinery and household appliances, raw wool, fertilizers, and specified chemicals and coal tar dyes.

Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a letter to the Security Council, protested against the additional powers given the Kashmir Commission on June 3. He also stated the Indian Government would not aid the Commission in settling the Kashmir dispute "until objections raised by the Government of India have been satisfactorily met."

*June 6:* A Japanese (SCAP) trade delegation concluded trade talks with Pakistan. The latter would receive cotton yarn and cloth from Japan in return for 20,000 bales of cotton.

*June 8:* Mohanlal Saxena was appointed Minister of State in charge of India's Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation.

India's first overseas air service under the government-sponsored Air India International, Ltd. began regular flights.

The Security Council rejected Prime Minister Nehru's implied request for an amendment of the Kashmir resolution.

*June 9:* Talks in New Delhi between representatives of India and Hyderabad ended with the presentation of an Indian ultimatum demanding full control over Hyderabad's defense, external affairs, and communications; overriding power to enforce dominion legislation; and a fully responsible government with an absolute Hindu majority until the plebiscite was held regarding accession to India. V. P. Menon, Secretary of the Indian States Ministry and Indian Representative, revealed that India had also asked that armies like the Razakars be disbanded, and had announced orders to Indian police and troops to pursue raiders from Hyderabad into Hyderabad territory if necessary.

*June 10:* It was learned that the USSR had ac-

ceded to the request by the Indian High Commissioner in London for 50,000 tons of grain from Russia.

*June 12:* The Vatican announced establishment of diplomatic relations with India.

The Third Session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East held its final meeting at Ootacamund, India. During the session, delegates discussed reduction of rice prices, approved resolutions of the Trade Promotion Committee, recommended a meeting of inland transport experts for the purpose of rebuilding the Far East transport system, heard the Secretariat's report on economic conditions and problems in East Asia, asked the Secretariat to begin a study of important commodities like silk, jute, and oilseeds, and heard the U. S. state that "it is unthinkable that credits and loans would not be forthcoming from the West for expanding economy in the East, but conditions must be favorable for sound loans, as they must be used for direct investments in enterprises." (Press Releases, United Nations, EC/501, 502, 506, 507, 511, 512, and 517, June 3-10.)

*June 13:* Karachi's District Magistrate banned for one week all processions, assemblies of 5 or more persons, and the carrying, storage, and collection of weapons. The reason given was tension among the populace as a result of separation of Karachi from Sind Province.

Eric Colban was appointed head of the UN Secretariat of the Kashmir Commission.

*June 15:* Dr. Syud Hossein, first Minister of India to Transjordan, presented his credentials to King Abdallah.

Sheikh Abdullah's Ministry reduced the privy purse of the Kashmir ruler by 90%, cut the salaries of its own members to \$300 a month, abolished landlordism, set aside \$300,000 for industrial co-operatives, and declared a year's moratorium on the debts of cultivators and artisans. (*India Today*, July 1948.)

The Kashmir Commission of the UN Security Council held its first meeting in Geneva.

The Indian Information Services stated the French and Indian Governments signed an agreement to release assets frozen during the war and belonging to each other's nationals.

Khan Abd al-Ghaffar Khan was arrested near the Bahadar Khel salt mines in Pakistan, tried and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. He was accused of plotting to destroy Pakistan in conspiracy with the Fakir of Ipi. (*India Today*, July 1948.)

*June 16:* M. Asaf Ali was appointed Governor of Orissa Province.

*June 17:* Prime Minister Nehru announced that the Nizam of Hyderabad had rejected the draft agreement between his state and India, but that India would not alter its terms. He was quoted as saying that an economic blockade of Hyderabad was in effect, but the Indian Government would try to avoid major conflict in future action.

*June 18:* The Indian Information Services announced the Indian Government's decision to appoint Sir Benegal Rama Rau as Indian Ambassador to the U. S., and B. N. Chakravarty as head of the Indian Liaison Mission to Tokyo with the rank of Minister.

*June 20:* Lord Mountbatten broadcast his farewell speech as Governor-General of India, thanking Indians for their kindnesses to him, urging them to be worthy of their freedom, and predicting a great future for India.

*June 21:* Chakravarty Rajagopalachari was sworn in as Governor-General of India.

Dr. Henry F. Grady left New Delhi and his post as U. S. Ambassador to India to return to Washington for reassignment as Ambassador to Greece.

Digambar Badge, Hindu ascetic accused in the case of Gandhi's assassination, turned state's evidence and was pardoned.

*June 23:* India and Pakistan announced their decision to enter an agreement providing for the unrestricted transfer of funds between the two dominions.

Representatives of the Indian and Pakistan governments signed a bilateral air transport agreement entitling India to operate on 10 specified routes and Pakistan to operate on 9.

*June 27:* The Indian army formed a separate command at Sholapur, on Hyderabad's western frontier, and the army's only armored brigade moved up from Poona.

The Reserve Bank of India shut off supplies of Indian currency to Hyderabad.

*June 28:* Qazi Ataullah Khan and Amir Mohammed Khan, former Revenue Minister in the Congress Party Government of Peshawar and President of the North-West Frontier Province Congress Committee respectively, were arrested at Peshawar, Pakistan.

*June 29:* Unions in India and Pakistan formed with Burma, China, the Philippines, and Indonesia an Asian Federation of Labor, Asian delegates to the International Labor Organization Conference in San Francisco announced.

In an exchange of letters, the French and Indian governments came to an agreement in regard to French possessions in India, according to a report of the Indian Information

Services. In regard to newly-elected municipal assemblies, the French letter said: "The date of the consultation will be fixed for Chandernagore by the municipal assembly of a free town; for the four other establishments by their municipal councils grouped in one single assembly. To this end these municipal assemblies will be entirely renewed and new elections will be held at dates to be fixed as soon as possible." The Indian letter expressed satisfaction with the principles of the Declaration made in the French National Assembly June 8, 1948; agreed that the future of the French possessions should be determined as soon as possible according to the freely expressed will of the majority of the inhabitants; and agreed with France in regard to the functions of the newly elected municipal assemblies.

*June 30:* Pakistan signed the Protocol of Provisional Application of the Geneva Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

*July 1:* The State Bank of Pakistan commenced operations.

*July 2:* The Indian Government canceled flights into India by the Hyderabad airline, Deccan Airways, claiming it would make it easier to detect planes said to be running guns from Pakistan to Hyderabad.

*July 4:* Brigadier M. Usman, Moslem commander of Indian troops in Kashmir, was killed in action.

*July 5:* Tamizuddin Ahmad, Deputy President of the Pakistani Constituent Assembly, appealed for funds to obtain arms and equipment for a force of "Pakistani crusaders" who "will soon be sent to the Palestine front to fight the Zionist aggressors."

On the Chakothi front in the mountains of Kashmir, Indian troops met with stiff resistance from three battalions of Pakistani troops with 25-pounder field guns, 4.2-inch mortars, light anti-aircraft guns, and mountain artillery.

The Pakistan Government received \$10,000,000 credit from the U. S. for the purchase of surplus farm machinery, medical supplies, industrial plants and equipment, and other items necessary for relief work.

Hindu-Moslem rioting in Bombay, starting over a complaint that a pickpocket was at work in a street car, ended in the death of 35 persons, injuries to 95, and the arrest of 49.

*July 6:* The Government of India issued a White Paper on the Dominion's policy toward the Indian States (excluding Junagadh, Kashmir, and Hyderabad) since July 5, 1947.

M. Ali Türkogldi presented his credentials as Turkish Ambassador to India.

A Czechoslovakian technical mission arrived in Karachi to discuss industrial and commercial matters with the Government of Pakistan. (*Pakistan Affairs*, July 20.)

**July 7:** The Government of India and the Imperial Ethiopian Government decided to establish diplomatic relations at legation level.

Prime Minister Nehru officially opened the new Pathankot-Jammu road between India and Kashmir.

**July 8:** The 5-member UN Kashmir Commission arrived in Karachi.

Indian tariff concessions under the Geneva reciprocal trade agreements went into effect.

Paul H. Alling, U. S. Ambassador to Pakistan, arrived in the U. S.

By ordinance, the North-West Frontier Provincial Government assumed extraordinary powers to deal with persons and organizations suspected of subversive activities.

**July 12:** Members of the UN Kashmir Commission paid a courtesy call on Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi.

The Indian Government announced that 2,000 Moslem raiders attacked their positions at Uri and Poonch in Kashmir.

**July 14:** President Truman appointed Loy W. Henderson, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the Department of State, as Ambassador to India and Minister to Nepal.

The Government of India announced an agreement with the USSR by which India would receive wheat in exchange for tea.

Police in Dacca, Eastern Bengal, Pakistan, went on strike for payment of their June wages, additional rations, improved housing, and fewer duties during the month of Ramadan.

**July 15:** Sir Archibald E. Nye was appointed British High Commissioner in India to succeed Sir Terence A. Shone in November 1948. A.C.B. Symon would act as High Commissioner from August until that time.

Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel inaugurated the Union of Patiala and the East Punjab States, consolidating 7 Sikh Princely States on the Pakistan border into one unit under the constitutional rule of the Maharaja of Patiala.

Indian Finance Minister R. K. Shanmukham Chetty announced conclusion of the Indo-British sterling balance talks in London extending the August 1947 agreement through the period July 1, 1948—June 30, 1951. Under the agreement: (1) India and Pakistan would pay Great Britain £100,000,000 in full and final settlement for all British-owned military

stores and installations in those dominions; (2) India would pay Great Britain £147,500,000 and also purchase from it a tapering annuity commencing with a payment of £6,300,000 the first year and gradually diminishing to nothing in 60 years—this to meet pension obligations to British personnel; (3) the total sterling balance for a three-year period would be £160,000,000: Britain would release £80,000,000 in the second and third years and India would carry over a balance of £80,000,000 unspent from previous releases; (4) Britain agreed to make £15,000,000 available in 1948-9 for conversion into any currency; (5) Britain also agreed to pay India and Pakistan £55,000,000 in final settlement of its liabilities under the Indian Defense Expenditure Plan. (*International Financial News Survey*, July 22, page 1.)

**July 17:** India requested the Secretary-General of the UN to put its complaint against South Africa's discrimination against Indian residents back on the General Assembly agenda for September 1948.

**July 18:** The Indian Government announced that until further notice Moslems returning to India from Pakistan would be required to secure entry permits from the Indian High Commissioner at Karachi or the Officer on Special Duty at Lahore.

**July 19:** The Inter-University Board of Pakistan decided to abandon English as a medium of instruction in Pakistan universities, and to substitute Urdu.

**July 20:** The Indian Government claimed its forces had made "steady progress" on the Kashmir front against 25-pounders and mortars, and stated that southwest of Tithwal they had cleared well-constructed bunkers of the Pakistan Frontier Force Regiment.

**July 22:** The UN Kashmir Commission approved a proposal to send an advance party consisting of Major Francis M. Smith of the U. S., Harry Graeffe, Jr. of Belgium, and Richard Symonds of the Commission Secretariat to Kashmir to survey the military situation, providing India agreed.

The Indians reported heavy firing from the opposition northwest of Gurais, on the Chakothi-Uri front, west of Jhangar, south of Naushahra, and in the Manawwar region.

Hyderabad repudiated India's claim of jurisdiction over its airports and to aerial rights over its territory. Shankerran Deo, General Secretary of the Congress Party in India, stated in a speech at Nagpur that war was the only solution to the Hyderabad problem.



A British White Paper revealed that Pakistan had agreed in recent sterling balance talks to limit expenditure in hard currency areas so that net drawings on the central reserves from July 1, 1948 to June 30, 1949 would not exceed the equivalent of £5,000,000.

*July 25:* Prime Minister Nehru of India stated before 500,000 people in Madras that Hyderabad must accede to the dominion or face military operations and extinction as a separate state.

*July 28:* India and Pakistan signed a food agreement in New Delhi which would cut transport costs for rice and wheat and would release 2,000 tons of vegetable oil to Pakistan. (Government of India Information Services [GIIS], Aug. 3.)

*July 29:* The Hyderabad Government protested to the Indian Government against an Indian troop raid, supported by tanks, at Tandulwadi, and the occupation by two Indian companies of Nanj, where Indian troops marching across Hyderabad into Barsi Enclave had been ambushed; the Hyderabad Government demanded the immediate withdrawal of Indian forces from the area.

Two hundred cases of cholera and 15 deaths were reported in the city of Hyderabad.

*July 30:* During a heated debate in the British House of Commons between Prime Minister Attlee and Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister made it clear that the British Government would refrain from bringing pressure to bear against either side in the Hyderabad-India dispute.

The Bombay Government imposed restrictions on the movement of petroleum and petroleum products, oils, food stuffs, drugs and medical stores, iron and steel to Hyderabad.

*July 31:* The UN Kashmir Commission left for Karachi to confer with Pakistani officials; meanwhile, alternate delegates Major Francis Smith of the U. S. and Ernest Graeffe of Belgium visited the fighting fronts in Kashmir with Indian army commanders.

*Aug. 1:* The Raja of Sandur charged that his administration had been taken over by the Indian Government without his permission.

*Aug. 2:* The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore reported that the Pakistan Government had officially admitted to the UN Kashmir Commission participation of Pakistani troops in the fighting in Kashmir.

The Indian and Pakistan Governments were deadlocked in a controversy over the Pakistani seizure of the railroad into Jodhpur. Pakistan claimed to have taken the action which isolated

Jodhpur on account of a dispute concerning payment.

*Aug. 4:* The Indian Government stated that though about 300 Britons were with the Indian Army, none were directly concerned in Kashmir operations.

*Aug. 5:* The British Government confirmed that no British officers were serving in Kashmir and stated it was not considering withdrawal of British officers from the two dominions' armies.

Sir Benegal Rama Rau, new Indian Ambassador to the U. S., presented his credentials to President Truman.

Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, resigned after the Nizam had by-passed the Hyderabad Council of Ministers and used Sir Mirza Ismail, former Prime Minister, as his channel in negotiations with India.

Indian Army troops were reported to be in possession of the village of Yelsangi near the border in Hyderabad.

*Aug. 7:* Mir Laik Ali withdrew his resignation at the insistence of the Nizam.

The UN Kashmir Commission announced completion of a draft cease-fire proposal for Kashmir, and asked the Secretary-General of the UN for English-speaking military observers to be on the scene after the cease-fire began.

*Aug. 9:* Prime Minister Nehru of India, speaking at a public meeting in New Delhi, said Hyderabad would have equal partnership in the union if it agreed to Indian accession.

M. A. H. Ispahani, Pakistan's Ambassador to the U. S., arrived in Washington.

*Aug. 10:* India summarized its case for the accession of Hyderabad and gave the history of Indian-Hyderabad relations in a 76-page White Paper submitted to the Indian Parliament.

Premier Dr. Jivraj Mehta and the Dhara Sabha (Legislature) of Baroda charged the Gaekwar of Baroda with misusing approximately \$10,000,000 during a six-week vacation during the spring of 1948. They asked for the Gaekwar's abdication and a regency council to be instituted by the Dominion of India.

*Aug. 11:* The Gaekwar of Baroda stated in London that he would return to India to face charges that he had financed a personal spending spree with money from his state treasury. He denied the charges.

*Aug. 12:* India and Portugal announced in New Delhi their intention of exchanging diplomatic representatives at legation level. (GIIS, Aug. 20.)

*Aug. 13:* The Indian Government appointed the Maharajah of Bhavnagar as Governor of

Madras, to succeed Lieut. Gen. Sir Archibald Nye.

*Aug. 14:* India signed a treaty of friendship and establishment with Switzerland establishing perpetual peace between the two states and arranging for exchange of diplomatic and consular agents and most favored nation privileges in regard to trade. (GIIS, Aug. 20.)

The UN Kashmir Commission proposed a cease-fire agreement between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, to be followed by consultation with the Commission "to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby the free expression of the will of the people will be assured in the state."

*Aug. 15:* Both the Indian and Pakistan governments officially celebrated their first anniversary of independence with parades and public meetings.

*Aug. 16:* R. K. Shanmukham Chetty submitted his resignation as Indian Finance Minister. (London Times, August 17, page 3.)

K. C. Neogy took over the portfolio of Finance Minister in the Indian Government temporarily. (London Times, August 18, page 3.)

*Aug. 18:* The first Maharani of Baroda appealed to high Indian officials to discuss charges against the Gaekwar with him personally; she termed the legislature's request for his abdication "hasty and uncalled for."

An Indian communiqué announced anti-Government forces had seized Skardu, 11 miles northeast of Srinagar in Kashmir.

Two U. S. destroyers and a heavy cruiser arrived in Karachi on a goodwill tour.

*Aug. 19:* Hyderabad announced it would take its dispute with India to the UN. The Premier of Hyderabad stated India's violation of the stand-still agreement, its economic blockade, and its border raids and occupation of Sendri railroad station and Yelasangi created a grave situation which was an imminent threat to peace. The Indian Government's view was that the issue was domestic and not within the purview of the UN.

*Aug. 20:* Prime Minister Nehru informed Parliament that India had formally protested to Pakistan the latter's use of regular troops against Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir. (GIIS, Aug. 25.)

*Aug. 22:* Ninety members of the South Indian Dravidian Federation, an organization in favor of political separation for south India, were arrested in Madras.

Severe floods destroyed 126 villages and left about 200,000 people homeless in Sind Province,

according to the official statement of Revenue Minister Ghualmali Talfur.

Raiders were reported by the Kashmir Government to have killed the Lama of Ganskar Padam Monastery and a number of other Buddhists living in the Ladakh Valley.

*Aug. 24:* Zahir Ahmad, Secretary to the Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, deposited with the UN his government's protest against India.

The UN Kashmir Commission asked UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie to take immediate steps to appoint 20 military observers to supervise any cease-fire order agreed to by India and Pakistan.

The three U. S. navy vessels stopped at Bombay on their goodwill tour.

*Aug. 26:* Indian Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel stated inquiries had satisfied India that "no foreign country is involved in supplying arms or ammunition to Hyderabad."

*Aug. 28:* In a letter to the Premier of Hyderabad, Indian States' Secretary V. P. Menon disputed Hyderabad's right to seek UN intervention in the accession question, accused the state of victimizing its own non-Moslem inhabitants and conducting border raids, and stated the Razakars dominated the Hyderabad Government.

*Aug. 29:* A proclamation published in the *Gazette Extraordinary* announced that the Gaekwar of Baroda had granted full responsible government to his people and that an Assembly would be elected to frame a new constitution. As a result of conversations with Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel, the Gaekwar agreed to repay amounts loaned and paid off to him from state funds. He would retain his throne under the agreement.

## Iran

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 8:* Prime Minister Ibrahim Hakimi failed to win a vote of confidence from the Majlis (Parliament).

*June 13:* Abdul Hosayn Hazhir was elected Prime Minister at a secret meeting of the Majlis.

The new Cabinet was as follows:

Gen. Amir Ahmadi — War  
Khalil Fahimi — Interior  
Amanullah Ardalan — Finance  
Musa Nuri Isfandiari — Foreign Affairs  
Nadir Arasteh — Posts and Telegraph  
Dr. Manuchehr Iqbal — Education

Dr. Abbas Adham — Health  
 Nazem Mafi — Justice  
 Dr. Fakhreddin Shadman — National Economy  
 Mansur Adl — Minister without Portfolio  
 Jamal Imami — Minister without Portfolio  
 (Ministries of Roads and Agriculture to be filled later.)

June 17: Several people were injured when the police fired on a demonstration against the new Prime Minister, Abdul Hosayn Hazhir.

June 18: The U. S. Department of Commerce announced that export licenses for 11,650 tons of oil-line pipe had been granted to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to construct a pipeline in Iran.

June 20: Col. James R. Pierce replaced Brig. Gen. Schwartzkopf as chief of the U. S. gendarmerie mission.

June 30: Akbar Agar, representative of the Shiraz Manufacturing Co., Ltd. of Shiraz, announced the purchase of \$750,000 worth of machinery to be used in a textile mill to be built at Shiraz.

July 20: Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi arrived in London.

July 29: The U. S. Department of State announced the extension of \$10,000,000 credit to the Iranian Government for the purchase of surplus military equipment, and of not more than \$16,000,000 to cover repair and shipping costs. The terms provided for 2½% interest rate and repayment over a 12-year period.

## Iraq

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

June 26: A new cabinet was formed, as follows:  
 Muzahim al-Pachachi — Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs (acting)  
 Mustafa al-Umari — Interior  
 Sadiq al-Bassam — Defense  
 Muhammad Hasan Kubbah — Justice  
 Jalal Baban — Communications, Public Works, Social Affairs (acting)  
 Ali Mumtaz — Finance, Supply (acting)  
 Najib al-Rawi — Education  
 Abd al-Wahab Mirjan — Economics

July 1: King Abdallah visited Baghdad. (London Times, July 2, page 4.)

July 11: The Iraqi Cabinet voted to join the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, subject to the approval of Parliament.

July 14: The Chamber of Deputies adopted an amendment to the penal code making Zionist activity a crime punishable by death or life imprisonment.

July 19: The British Treasury and Foreign Office announced an exchange of notes with Iraq regarding the extension of the Supplementary Financial Agreement signed in Nov. 1947. (London Times, July 19, page 3.)

July 27: Dr. Nadim al-Pachachi, Director-General of Economics, stated that Iraq would resume pumping oil to Haifa only if the refinery was placed under international control.

Aug. 16: Ali Mumtaz, Minister of Finance, announced that 38% of Iraq's budget would be for armed forces, the largest in its history.

Aug. 18: The British Foreign Office denied that Britain and Iraq had made a secret agreement on Palestine, as alleged by General Nuri al-Sa'id in a pamphlet circulated in Baghdad.

Aug. 21: Regent Abd al-Ilah and Prime Minister Muzahim al-Pachachi conferred in Amman, Transjordan, with Transjordanian officials.

## Israel

(See Palestine)

## Italian Colonies

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

July 21: Reports of the Four Power investigating commission on Eritrea and Italian Somaliland were made available. In general, the French and Soviet representatives found evidence to support their view that Eritrea and Italian Somaliland be given to Italy under a UN trusteeship, while British and U. S. representatives found strong opposition to a return to Italian rule.

July 27: The Four Power investigating commission's report on Libya was made available. It revealed that the French, British, and U. S. representatives agreed that the Libyans did not want the Italians back as trustees or in any other capacity. The Soviet representative implied the Libyans would be satisfied with the Italians, although he also emphasized their desire for unity.

July 30: The Deputy Foreign Ministers began hearings of Ethiopian and Italian views on the question of the Italian colonies.

Aug. 9: The Deputy Foreign Ministers, meeting

in London, agreed to make separate recommendations for each of the former Italian colonies but to write a unified report. It was learned that ten minor powers had expressed the view that Italy should receive the trusteeship of one or more of her former colonies. The nine other countries concerned in the Italian Peace Treaty suggested a trusteeship under Britain, or complete self-determination or independence.

Aug. 18: Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for the U. S. presidency, told a delegation of Italian-Americans that he favored giving Italy administrative control of its former colonies under a UN trusteeship.

## Kuwait

(For comment on the developments of the quarter, see Oil, page 457.)

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

July 6: The American Independent Oil Co. announced an agreement with Sheikh Ahmad Ibn Jabir al-Subah, ruler of Kuwait, providing for full oil rights in his 50% share in the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian Neutral Zone. The concession was reported to be for 50 years at a dead rent per annum of \$600,000; the ruler of Kuwait to be a minority partner; royalty to be \$2.50 per ton. (*Oil Forum*, Aug. 1948, page 314.)

Aug. 3: Izzat Ja'afar, personal aide to Sheikh Ahmad al-Jabir al-Subah, ruler of Kuwait, arrived in New York.

## Lebanon

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

June 10: It was reported that the Lebanese Government had authorized the seizure of all Israeli-bound ships touching at Beirut.

June 29: Lebanon signed the Protocol of Provisional Application, to become, after a lapse of 30 days, a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of October 1947. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, July 24, p. 48.)

July 1: A new economic agreement between Syria and Lebanon came into force providing for the continuation of the economic, though not the financial, unity of the two for a three-year period. Syria renounced its previous opposition to the French-Lebanese convention.

The Trans-Arabian Pipeline Co. (TAPline) reduced its American staff in Beirut to three

men as a result of the cancellation by the U. S. Department of Commerce of the company's export permit regarding steel pipe.

July 13: U. S. citizens seized from the American Export liner *Marine Carp* in May by Lebanese authorities arrived in New York after six weeks' detention in Lebanon.

Generalissimo Francisco Franco received Lebanon's Order of Merit, the only non-Arab chief of state to receive the decoration.

July 26: Prime Minister Riad al-Sulh reshuffled his cabinet, as follows:

Riad al-Sulh — Prime Minister, Justice  
Gabriel Murr — Deputy Prime Minister, Interior

Hamid Franjiyah — Foreign Affairs, Education

Amir Majid Arslan — National Defense, Agriculture

Philip Tacla — National Economy, Posts and Telegraph

Ahmad al-As'ad — Public Works

Elias al-Khuri — Hygiene, Public Welfare

Husayn al-'Uwayni — Finance

## North Africa

Native unrest and discontent at Western domination mounted steadily notwithstanding the reforms which had lately gone into effect in the French possessions. The growing tension might be traced to the ineffectiveness of the reforms themselves, to developments in Palestine, and, so far as Libya was concerned, to the additional circumstance that this country's fate was currently being thrashed out in London at the Council of Deputy Foreign Ministers.

The administrative reforms in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia had apparently failed so far to convince the Moslem Arabs of French good faith. The Moslems appeared to believe, rightly or wrongly, that once more, as in the past, the reforms were mere façades, leaving French rule untouched. In Algeria, Ferhat Abbas and Messali Hadj, leaders of the two main Algerian nationalist parties, the Union Democratique du Manifeste Algerien and the Parti du Peuple Algerien respectively, continued in their demands that the elections be annulled on grounds of fraudulence and intimidation at the polls. Other aspects of the agitation included an uncon-



firmed report that in July a secret meeting took place between French and Spanish military officials for the purpose of co-ordinating the two colonial armies in the event of nationalist uprisings.

The general nationalist effervescence was also expressed in Moslem solidarity and sympathy for the Palestine Arabs. In Morocco, Jewish-Arab clashes were deemed sufficiently important for the Colonial Army to send re-enforcements from Algiers to Casablanca as well as planes to patrol the skies above the disturbed areas; while in Tripoli, Libya, the British Military Administration declared a state of emergency on June 13 because of repeated rioting between Jews and Arabs.

T. A. VOTICHENKO  
Washington, D. C.

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 7:* Five Jews were killed and 30 other people were injured in Moslem riots in Oujda, French Morocco.

*June 9:* Additional riots in French Morocco led to the deaths of about 40 persons.

*June 11:* Security measures were taken in French Moroccan cities after a Moslem fanatic stabbed Mohamed Hajoui, Pasha of Oujda, while he was attending prayers at the Mosque of Oujda following the funeral of the Jewish victims of the June 7 riots.

*June 12:* Jewish homes and establishments were set afire and Jews injured in anti-Jewish riots in the old city of Tripoli, Libya. Troops and police patrolled the principal thoroughfares and a curfew was ordered.

*June 13:* Three Jews and 4 Arabs were killed in riots between Jews and Arabs in Tripoli, Libya. The Government declared a state of emergency.

French troops arrived at Casablanca to reinforce the North African garrison; troops patrolled Oujda.

### Oil

The conclusion of a concession agreement between the Sheikh of Kuwait and the American Independent Oil Company over Kuwait's undivided half of the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian Neutral Zone was announced

on July 6. With the exception of the still problematical development of off-shore resources in the Persian Gulf, involving tangled questions of sovereignty as well as practical difficulties of extraction, the agreement covered the last remaining area of well-established oil deposits in the Middle East open to foreign bidding. The sections of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon still not blanketed by foreign concessions promised little in the way of oil resources; Yemen was still largely unexplored; Turkey, for reasons of both economic and political policy, was unwilling for its newly discovered deposits to be exploited by foreign concerns; and Iran, for similar political reasons, was desirous at least of placing future development in the hands of its own government.

Numerous legal and jurisdictional problems remained before much progress could be made toward the physical extraction of oil in the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian Neutral Zone. This Zone had been set up by the Protocol of Oqair, concluded in December 1922, which was conceived by Sir Percy Cox, High Commissioner for Iraq, as a means of reducing the danger of friction arising from the ebb and flow of tribal migration, and thus of depriving Ibn Saud of cause for further expansion northward. As with a similar neutral zone set up at the same time between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the boundaries were only sketchily drawn, and with traditional watering places in mind rather than future complications arising from the exploitation of oil.

When the concession agreement was reached, both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia still held equal rights over an undivided half of the Neutral Zone; there was no positive administration of the area; and the two parties had never concluded an agreement defining more precisely their respective jurisdictions. An agreement of some sort would be a prerequisite to oil exploitation; American Independent would likewise have to work out an agreement with the Arabian American Oil Company, which held a parallel concession over Ibn Saud's half interest. Terms of American Independent's concession agreement were not officially announced; the unofficially reported royalty of \$2.50 a ton

ran considerably higher than the royalty of approximately \$1.60 a ton which was normal in previously established concessions. Taken in conjunction with the June 25 agreement of the Arabian American Oil Company to compute its optional dollar royalty to the Saudi Arabian Government at \$2.40, however, it was not out of line with what might prove to be a trend toward higher royalty payment. The agreement, if correct, also reflected the increased competition for Middle East oil rights.

The entry of an independent American oil company, representing ten domestic concerns, was a new departure in Middle East oil development, hitherto completely in the hands of companies with world-wide exploitation and marketing facilities and in more than one case dominated by national interests. It might serve, therefore, on the one hand to introduce an element of competition into the oligopoly of Middle East oil, and on the other hand to ease the opposition of domestic companies in the United States to American oil activity in the area.

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 21:* The Iraq Petroleum Co. (IPC) announced plans to construct a pipeline from Kirkuk to a "suitable terminal" in the eastern Mediterranean.

*June 24:* The U. S. Navy announced the signing of a contract with Caltex Oil Products Co. of California for delivery of 98,500,000 barrels of Persian Gulf oil over the next five years.

*June 25:* Settling a long-standing difference of opinion between the Saudi Arabian Government and the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), the latter agreed that if it chose not to pay its royalty of 4 gold shillings per ton of oil in gold sovereigns, and instead elected to pay in dollars, it would do so by computing its royalty at the rate of \$12 per gold pound. The agreement would hold so long as the official price of gold remained at \$35 an ounce.

*July 6:* The American Independent Oil Co. announced an agreement with Sheikh Ahmad Ibn Jabir al-Subah, ruler of Kuwait, providing for full oil rights in his 50% share in the Kuwaiti-Saudi Arabian Neutral Zone. The concession was reported to be for 50 years at a dead rent per annum of \$600,000; the ruler of Kuwait to

be a minority partner; royalty to be \$2.50 per ton. (*Oil Forum*, Aug. 1948, page 314.)

*July 27:* Dr. Nadim al-Pachachi, Director-General of Economics, stated that Iraq would resume pumping oil to Haifa only if the refinery was placed under international control.

## Palestine

(Including Israel)

On June 11<sup>th</sup> the states of the Arab League and the Provisional Government of Israel accepted the Security Council's four-week cease-fire proposal of May 29; the truce went into effect on June 11 under the supervision of Count Folke Bernadotte, the Mediator for the United Nations. Both the Israeli and Arab protagonists willingly acquiesced in the temporary cessation of hostilities to take stock of the six weeks of fighting since Israel declared its being on May 15. The United Nations and the world at large had hopes that the experience of warfare without the restraining hand of a mandatory power might have prepared both sides for conciliation. The four weeks passed, however, with no concrete progress toward a peaceable solution. Both sides rejected the one plan put forward by the Mediator, which though providing for a Jewish state, was rather more favorable to the Arabs than the UN partition recommendation of November 29, 1947.

The expiration of the truce on July 8 brought a resumption of hostilities; the Israelis took the offensive with considerable success, capturing Lydda, Ramleh, and Nazareth. The Mediator immediately set about securing a renewal of the truce. Israeli acceptance was at once forthcoming, but Arab agreement was only grudgingly given after the Security Council, on a motion introduced by the United States, threatened sanctions against any power continuing active hostilities.

✓ The Israelis were not disinclined because the very passage of time worked to their advantage. The longer their state could maintain a *de facto* existence, the better chance there was that it would become a fixture of the scene and be accorded full *de jure* recognition. The truce gave them the opportunity,

moreover, of regrouping and training their armed forces, and of proceeding with the task of internal organization in preparation for the elections and creation of a constituent assembly scheduled to take place in the fall.

Arab reluctance to accept a renewal of the truce was to be explained by the same consideration; final agreement by the extent of Israeli military success, by the unpalatable threat of UN sanctions (which would stigmatize the Arab states as aggressors), and by British pressure expressed through the temporary withholding of the annual grant in support of Transjordan's Arab Legion. On the positive side, the states of the Arab League may also have felt that in the Mediator they had found a man who approached the Palestine situation in a spirit of objectivity and conciliation, and who in reporting to the United Nations would be prepared to criticize Israeli as well as Arab actions if the occasion warranted.

Israel's confidence in the security of its position became increasingly apparent as the summer wore on. On July 29 Foreign Minister Shertok declared that Israel no longer felt itself committed to the boundaries of the UN partition recommendation, but "must insist on changing them by adding territories and not by diminishing them." He declared that his government would take steps to put Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, and called for a "heavy indemnity" against the Arabs. Shertok also refused to consider the return of over 300,000 Arab refugees to their homes in territory under Israeli control except as part of a general peace settlement which would also deal with the status of Jewish minorities in Arab countries.

As the truce was prolonged, Israel began to be increasingly anxious for a final settlement; whereas at first the truce had helped Israel to consolidate its position, it was now a bulwark to the Arabs in postponing the necessity of admitting Israel's existence. On August 5 Foreign Minister Shertok made a first bid for direct peace talks with the Arab states on the basis, presumably, of the recognition of Israeli sovereignty over territory then held by its military forces. The suggestion was repudiated by Arab representatives. On August 13 the Israeli Government called

on the Security Council to set a time limit to the truce, after which Israel would be free to reach a settlement by force. The Security Council replied on August 18 that only the Council had the power to discontinue the truce and that it did not propose to do so. Israeli spokesmen argued further that peace would return most quickly to Palestine through a rapid and complete establishment of Israel, and to that end the embargo on arms shipments to Israel should be lifted; Israel should be admitted to the United Nations; and the United States should grant it without delay the proposed \$100,000,000 loan.

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 1:* The seven-member nations of the Arab League and the Provisional Government of Israel announced their acceptance of the UN Security Council request for a 4-week cease-fire in Palestine. (Text of Jewish reply: *New York Times* June 2, page 3; Arab reply: June 3, page 6.)

Israeli planes raided Amman, Transjordan, and reportedly attacked Arabs in the Nablus-Jenin-Tulkarm triangle. Israeli troops moved within a few miles of Jenin and Tulkarm, and the capture of Bayt Tima was claimed.

249 Jewish immigrants attempted to land at Haifa, but were forbidden by the British. They disembarked outside the harbor.

*June 2:* The UN Security Council decided to regard both sides' acceptance of the 4-week cease fire as unconditional. With the USSR and Ukraine abstaining, it instructed Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Mediator, to consult with Arabs, Jews, and the Security Council Truce Commission to set the time when the cease-fire would come into effect.

Hungary recognized the State of Israel.

Egyptian planes made hit and run attacks on Tel Aviv suburbs, and below Ramleh at Hulda. Arab Legionnaires beat back a group of Israeli fighters who struck 18 miles into southern Transjordan. A force of Israeli fighters assaulted Jerusalem's Walled City.

*June 3:* Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Mediator, flew to Cairo, Amman, and Tel Aviv to negotiate the cease-fire.

Great Britain ceased exporting military supplies and equipment to the Arab states. It announced its authorities would detain in

Cyprus, during the cease-fire, any Jewish male immigrants of military age.

*June 4:* A 4-hour sea battle took place off Tel Aviv between a 2,500-ton transport ship, an LCT, and a small destroyer all belonging to Egypt, and planes and a single corvette-type warship belonging to Israel. The Egyptian vessels retired without landing troops.

A battle was reported in progress in the Jenin area. An artillery duel between Egyptian and Israeli troops took place in the Isdud area. Arab Legion 25-pounders resumed the shelling of Jewish districts in Jerusalem.

*June 5:* An Egyptian column was surrounded by Israeli forces above Isdud; Arabs attacked from the north and east to relieve it. Syrians began an offensive at Mishmar ha-Yarden. Fighting was bitter around Tulkarm.

*June 6:* The Jewish quarters of Jerusalem experienced their heaviest Arab shelling since May 15.

*June 7:* Count Folke Bernadotte presented a truce plan to Israel and the Arab states; it called for a cease-fire and a 4-week truce. Replies were requested within 48 hours.

Aubrey Eban, representing Israel before the UN Security Council, submitted the text of a 7-point agreement between the UN Mediator and the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Israel regarding interpretation of the immigration clauses in the Council's May 29 resolution. The agreement provided for the entry of men of military age to Palestine, but forbade their mobilization and training in Israel during the cease-fire. (Text, *New York Times*, June 8, page 4.)

The USSR announced it was prepared to dispatch military observers to Palestine to help implement the cease-fire resolution.

French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault officially received Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of Israel, during the latter's visit to Paris.

Egyptian forces at Isdud were reinforced by sea. Arabs made slight headway in fighting between Lake Hulah and the Sea of Galilee.

*June 8:* The UN Mediator notified the Security Council he had fixed the start of the truce and cease-fire for June 11, 6:00 a.m. GMT. All parties must accept unconditionally not later than June 9 at noon GMT, or the whole matter would be turned over to the Security Council. In his notes to Israel and the Arab states, UN Mediator Bernadotte laid down the following truce conditions to be enforced so that "no military advantage will accrue to either side": (1) no fighting personnel would be introduced into any part of Palestine or the Arab states; (2) the Mediator would determine that the

numbers of men of military age introduced into Palestine were not disproportionate and therefore a military advantage to one side; such men would in any case be kept in camps under UN surveillance during the truce; (3) the Mediator and his staff would check on all immigration and would be notified well in advance of the arrival of immigrants; (4) for at least the first week, the Mediator would exercise his discretion regarding entry of immigrants; (5) movement of troops or war matériel would be forbidden; (6) fronts, lines, and fighting strengths would remain unchanged; (7) the International Red Cross would provide relief for suffering populations, taking care not to increase stocks above pre-truce standards; (8) all warlike acts on sea, land, or air would be prohibited. (Text, *New York Times*, June 9, page 5.)

Arab Legion heavy guns blasted the road made by the Haganah as a substitute for the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway. Israeli troops attacked on a 15-mile front north of Jenin, which they entered.

*June 9:* Count Folke Bernadotte requested an international patrol squadron of 6 vessels (1 from Belgium, 2 from France, and 3 from the U. S.) to control immigration and importation of arms during the truce.

Israel and the states of the Arab League accepted unconditionally the Security Council truce. (Texts of replies, *New York Times*, June 10, page 8.)

Israeli forces gained 800 yards in an attack in the Musrarah quarter of Jerusalem. Syrian and Egyptian planes raided Tiberias, Nazareth, and Tel Aviv.

*June 10:* The USSR urged the UN Security Council to send Soviet military observers to help carry out the Palestine truce and cease-fire.

Both Israeli and Arab forces fought to improve their positions in all sectors before the truce and cease-fire were imposed; stiffest fighting was at Latrun and on the Isdud front.

*June 11:* Palestine was generally quiet. The Arabs reported 4 Israeli truce and cease-fire violations; the Israelis reported one Arab violation.

*June 12:* Rumania recognized the State of Israel.

*June 13:* Menahem Beigin, leader of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, announced the organization of a new political group, the Jewish Movement for Freedom, which would become part of the Israeli Army but would continue underground activities outside the state for the liberation of "all Palestine."

Israel challenged the truce by bringing a



46-truck food convoy into Jerusalem, unchecked, via a Haganah-built road they claimed to have used prior to the truce. Syrian forces violated the truce 4 times by attacking Jewish settlements in Galilee, including Kfar Szold and Ein Gev.

*June 14:* The Jewish Agency for Palestine agreed to the establishment of a convoy check post at Bab al-Wad, in answer to a UN Truce Commission ultimatum.

*June 15:* The Security Council, all abstaining except the USSR and the Ukraine, rejected the USSR proposal to send Russian observers to Palestine.

The UN Mediator, reporting violations of the truce to the Security Council, stated his general satisfaction with the way the truce was working out. (Text, *New York Times*, June 16, page 25.)

*June 16:* The UN Mediator conferred with Arab leaders in Cairo.

The UN Secretary General, complying with a Security Council request, called the attention of all UN members to the provisions of the cease-fire agreement concerning immigration.

The Arabs agreed to the setting up of UN check posts leading to Arab Jerusalem.

It was reported that Ahmad Hilmi Pasha 'Abd al-Baqi, a member of the Arab Higher Committee, was appointed military governor of the Arab sections of Jerusalem.

The Israeli Government accused Great Britain of imposing oil sanctions on Israel by shutting off the pipeline to Haifa.

*June 18:* A volunteer force of 42 U. S. citizens and 7 from other nations left New York for Palestine to take up duties in enforcing the truce.

*June 21:* Irgun Zvai Leumi landed 600 men and 150 women at Natanyah, and attempted to land a shipload of arms and ammunition, a part of which was seized by Haganah.

Harold Evans, the Municipal Commissioner for Jerusalem, returned to the U. S. in order to leave Count Folke Bernadotte a free hand.

The UN Mediator reported that he had reached an agreement with Israeli and Arab governments as to a no-man's land in Jerusalem.

The Syrian Government officially accused Israeli fighters of violating the truce by setting fire to four Galilee villages: Samakh, Ubaydiyah, Khalfa, and Zanghariyah.

*June 22:* Irgun Zvai Leumi attempted to unload arms and ammunition in defiance of the UN truce and Haganah shore batteries, which set fire to their ship, the *Altalena*. Twelve persons were killed and 40 wounded.

President Truman named James Grover McDonald as special representative to head the U.S. mission to Israel. Eliahu Epstein became Israel's special representative to the U.S.

*June 23:* Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Mediator, began informal conferences first with Arab and then Israeli experts in an attempt to come to a permanent peace agreement.

The Israeli Government arrested 70 Irgun Zvai Leumi members as a result of the incident of June 22. The Irgun announced it would no longer recognize the government; two Mizrahi Ministers, Judah L. Fishman and Moshe Shapiro, resigned from the government; Irgunist leader Menahem Beigin ordered his men not to take the oath of allegiance to Israel, but also not to take up arms against it.

Jamal al-Husayni, vice chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, protested the U. S. Republican Party platform endorsement of the State of Israel, and urged Americans to support a single Palestinian state.

*June 24:* The Israel State Council received a 24-7 (5 abstaining) vote of confidence on its action against dissident elements. The 2 cabinet members who resigned June 23 resumed their posts.

*June 25:* The UN withdrew its representatives from Egyptian-controlled territory, and notified the Egyptian Government it had violated the truce when (1) its troops refused to allow an Israeli convoy to pass through their territory to settlements in the Negeb; and (2) its plane strafed a UN plane. Colonel Paul Bonde of the UN notified the Israeli Government it was free to take action against Egyptian forces. Count Bernadotte demanded a full explanation from the Egyptian Government.

*June 27:* The second plenary assembly of the World Jewish Congress opened in Montreux, Switzerland.

Commanders of Israel's new army, Zvah Haganah (Army of Defense), participated in a private ceremony in which they swore allegiance to the army and the state. Among those participating were Jacob Dostrovski, Chief of Staff, Yigal Yadin (Suknik), Chief of Operations, and Aharon Rabinovitch, Commander of the Tel Aviv area.

John J. MacDonald arrived in Jerusalem to assume his post as U. S. Consul General.

*June 28:* Regular air mail postal service to Israel was resumed.

Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Mediator, submitted to Israel and the Arab states tentative proposals for a solution of the Palestine question, as follows: (1) A Palestine union embracing Transjordan to be composed of 2 states;

(2) Israel and the Arab state each to exercise full control over its own domestic and defense problems; (3) both states to solve mutual economic and defense problems through the medium of a Central Council; (4) immigration to be within the competence of each state, subject to the review of the Central Council after 2 years from the founding of the union; the Economic and Social Council of the UN to have final say in the event of a Central Council deadlock; (5) Jerusalem to be under Arab rule, subject to a measure of local government by a municipal council representing the 100,000 Jews in the Holy City; the city to have special UN status to guarantee access to Holy Places; (6) the Arabs to receive part or the whole of the Negeb; (7) the Jews to receive part or the whole of Western Galilee; (8) Haifa, including refineries and installations, to be a free port; Lyddia to be a free airport. (Text, *New York Times*, July 5, page 2.)

**June 29:** The UN Truce Commission notified Israel that the Egyptians had agreed to permit the passage of food and supply convoys to Negeb settlements.

**June 30:** British Commander Lieutenant-General G. H. A. MacMillan became the last British soldier of the mandatory power to leave Palestine, as the final British unit departed from Haifa. The port was placed officially under the Israeli Government.

**July 1:** Count Bernadotte reported to the Security Council that except for the Egyptian action in firing on a UN plane, he considered the incident of June 25 closed.

The World Jewish Congress meeting at Montreux, Switzerland, asked for world Jewish resistance to any attempt to diminish the sovereignty or to reduce the territory of Israel; it also asked for world recognition of the state.

**July 2:** Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, stated that the Arab states rejected Count Bernadotte's proposals for a Palestine solution.

**July 3:** In a report to the UN Secretary-General, Israeli Minister of Finance Eliezer Kaplan protested against the British Government's impounding of sterling balances equal to £100-150 million pending an agreement with Israeli and Arab authorities on the assets of British economic concerns in Palestine. He stated Israeli revenues as of June 21 were more than £900,000, and that £3,500,000 of the £5,000,000 national loan was subscribed.

Count Folke Bernadotte conferred with Arab League representatives in Cairo on Arab counter-proposals for peace in Palestine.

**July 4:** Machine guns, mortars, and cannon were fired by both sides during a 12-hour rupture of the UN cease-fire in Jerusalem.

**July 5:** UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte asked both Israeli and Arab leaders for an extension of the Palestine truce and for neutral status in any event for Jerusalem and the Haifa port area. These he proposed to keep under UN supervision, policed by a minimum of 1,000 American, French, and Belgian armed guards. The UN Secretary-General requested the U. S., France, and Belgium to furnish the required forces.

The Israeli State Council rejected all the main peace proposals submitted by the UN Mediator.

**July 7:** Irgun Zvai Leumi kidnapped 5 British civilians from a powerhouse in Jerusalem flying the UN flag, and held them in custody on charges they communicated with enemies of the Israeli forces.

2,100 Jews sailed from Cyprus to reach Israel before the truce expired.

The UN Security Council voted 8-0 to request that the Arab states and Israel agree to an extension of the truce for a period to be decided upon in consultation with the Mediator.

The Israeli Government indicated its willingness to extend the truce 30 days under existing conditions; the Secretary-General of the Arab League, Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, announced there would "be no extension of the truce in Palestine." Both the UN Mediator and the Secretary-General of the Arab League indicated mediation would continue even if fighting were resumed.

The UN took control of Hadassah Hospital and Hebrew University, security forces evacuating 225 Haganah soldiers.

Aubrey S. Eban was recognized by the USSR Chairman of the Security Council as the "Representative of the State of Israel." Jamal al-Husayni, vice chairman of the Palestinian Arab Higher Committee, walked out of the Security Council in protest.

**July 8:** The UN cease-fire came to an end. Count Bernadotte ordered all of his truce staff but a few UN military observers out of Palestine; two U. S. warships aided in evacuating about 200 truce personnel, mostly U. S. citizens. The Israeli Government agreed to a three-day truce to cover UN staff evacuation; it also agreed to discuss the demilitarization of Jerusalem, but did not favor demilitarization of the Haifa area. The Arab League agreed to discuss demilitarization of Haifa and to accept an immediate cease-

fire in Jerusalem's Holy Places; it ignored the Mediator's appeal for a 3-day truce. (Texts, Israeli: *New York Times*, July 9, page 2; Arab: July 10, page 2.)

At an emergency meeting of the Security Council, U. S. Representative Philip C. Jessup stated that if the Arabs refused to agree to a truce extension, the U. S. would support action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Arab Legion artillery moved up to Jerusalem from a Jordan River base. Sniper and mortar fire in Jerusalem increased, and Israeli forces stormed the King David Hotel.

July 9: Count Folke Bernadotte, UN Mediator, appealed to both Arabs and Israelis to accept an additional 10-day armistice from 12 noon GMT July 10.

Iraqi troops attacked Natanyah. Egyptian and Israeli troops fought in the Majdal area. Israeli forces launched an attack in Western Galilee.

July 10: Two Egyptian Spitfires bombed Jerusalem. Israeli forces captured Lydda airport, Wilhelma, and six villages on the central front. Israeli planes attacked several points on the southern front and Ramleh on the central front.

Israel notified the UN it would heed the appeal for a 10-day cease-fire if the Arabs would also; Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, rejected the cease-fire request.

July 11: Israeli forces surrounded Ramleh and Lydda, and took 3 villages in the Acre area. Iraqi and Palestinian irregulars claimed the recapture of 7 Israeli-occupied villages near Jenin. Heavy firing continued in Jerusalem.

July 12: Israeli forces captured Ramleh; Arab forces recaptured Bayt Nabala and Dayr Tarif, northeast of Lydda.

July 13: Israeli forces captured Ras al-Ayn, source of Jerusalem's main water supply. They also retook Bayt Nabala and Dayr Tarif, and captured Suba. Severe fighting was reported in Jerusalem and its environs.

Count Bernadotte testified at Lake Success on the Palestine situation. (Excerpts, *New York Times*, July 14, page 18.)

U. S. Representative Dr. Philip C. Jessup introduced into the Security Council a joint U. S.-British resolution demanding that an order be served on both Arabs and Israelis in Palestine to desist from further military action within 3 days, and in Jerusalem within 24 hours, and to keep the peace "until a peaceful adjustment of the future situation in Palestine is reached." Refusal to obey the order would be recognized as a breach of the peace under Chapter VII

of the UN Charter. (Text, *New York Times*, July 14, page 18.)

The Security Council Truce Commission, consisting of the consuls in Jerusalem of France, Belgium, and the U. S., reported the international character of Jerusalem was gravely threatened by recent Jewish actions and statements, and that immediate action was necessary to stop fighting there.

July 14: Israeli forces claimed the capture of 3 villages near Nazareth: Shafa Amr, Malul, and Ayn Mahil; Arabs opened an attack on Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

July 15: A UN guard was killed in Jerusalem, the second of the truce group to be killed in action in Palestine.

The UN Security Council voted 7-1 for the July 13 truce and cease-fire resolution with the phrase "pursuant to Article 40 of the Charter" eliminated from the fifth paragraph.

July 16: Both the Arab League Political Committee and the Israeli Government agreed to a cease-fire in Jerusalem to take effect by 3:00 p.m. GMT July 18. Count Folke Bernadotte called on Belgium for 50 truce observers, France for 125, and the U. S. for 125 more.

Irgun Zvai Leumi announced it was giving the Israeli army custody of the five Britons it had seized July 7 on charges of espionage.

Israeli troops took Nazareth and Tirah.

July 17: Count Folke Bernadotte left the U. S. for Rhodes to resume negotiations for an Arab-Jewish agreement.

The U. S. Navy ordered 12 marines to Jerusalem to provide protection for U. S. representatives and government property.

Haganah, Irgun Zvai Leumi, and the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel joined in a heavy assault on the Old City of Jerusalem.

July 18: Heavy casualties were reported as a result of firing in Jerusalem.

July 19: Israel accused Syrian troops of a truce violation in taking Tall al-Azaziyyat; fighting reportedly took place at Zirin, near Nazareth, in Jerusalem, and around Mishmar ha-Yarden.

July 21: In the presence of the UN Consular Truce Commission, Brigadier General David Shaltiel for Israel and Lieutenant Colonel Abdallah al-Tel for the Arabs signed a boundary agreement establishing the limits of the Arab and Jewish areas in Jerusalem.

July 22: The oil refinery at Haifa resumed 24-hour a day operations, staffed by Israeli personnel.

July 23: The General Zionist Party of Israel adopted a resolution demanding that Jerusalem be included in Israel.

*July 24:* Count Bernadotte asked for a special UN assistant to cope with the problem of Arab and Jewish Palestine war refugees. The UN Mediator arrived in Beirut for conversations with Arab leaders.

*July 25:* Israeli Government declared the new city of Jerusalem, with its population of 100,000 Jews, to be Israel-occupied territory.

*July 26:* A UN military observer charged Israeli troops and planes with violating the truce in attacking 3 Arab villages along the Haifa-Tel Aviv road.

*July 27:* The UN Security Council rejected a Syrian resolution under which the Council would have asked the World Court to rule on the international status of Palestine, and indirectly on the question of the UN's jurisdiction over the Holy Land after the British Mandate ended.

Israel staged a full military parade in Tel Aviv on the 44th anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism.

King Abdallah of Transjordan wrote to all Arab rulers describing the Palestine refugee problem as "dangerous" and requesting their prompt assistance.

Dr. Nadim al-Pachachi, Iraqi Director-General of Economics, stated Iraq would resume pumping oil to Haifa only if the refineries were placed under international control.

*July 28:* Israel opened a consulate in New York, with Arthur Lourie as Consul General.

Israeli and Egyptian forces were reportedly fighting in the Negeb region of Palestine.

Moshe Shapiro, Israel's Minister of Immigration, announced that almost 25,000 immigrants had been admitted to Israel since the state's creation.

The office of the UN Mediator announced that Arab and Israeli authorities had agreed to place the main pumping station for Jerusalem's water supply under UN control during the truce.

The Arab Legion admitted responsibility for the death of the UN guard July 15, and stated its "profound regret."

The UN Trusteeship Council voted 8-1 to postpone indefinitely any action on the establishment of an international regime in Jerusalem.

*July 30:* Count Bernadotte reported to the Security Council a truce violation by Arab civilians and forces July 29 at Latrun: they turned back the first Jerusalem convoy since resumption of the truce July 18.

Major General Aage Lundstroem of the Swedish Air Force assumed his duties as Chief of Staff to the UN Mediator.

*Aug. 1:* The Israeli Government appointed Dr. Bernard Joseph Military Governor of Jerusalem.

Moshe Shertok, Israeli Foreign Minister, stated Israel would discuss the return of Arab refugees only as part of a peace treaty between Israel and the Arab states.

Count Folke Bernadotte, UN Mediator, announced Israel and the Arabs had accepted in principle the complete demilitarization of Jerusalem. Before leaving for a six-day tour of the Arab countries and Israel, he further announced his recommendation to the UN Security Council to maintain the right of Arab refugees to return freely to their homes in Israeli-held sections of Palestine during the truce.

*Aug. 2:* Ninety-five additional U. S. Army, Navy, and Air Force officers would aid in enforcing the Palestine truce, the U. S. State Department announced. Brigadier General William E. Riley would head the American group.

Moshe Shertok stated Israel had informed the Chief of Staff of the UN Mediator that the Israeli Government would feel free to resume war against the Egyptians unless they checked their attacks against Israeli positions.

*Aug. 3:* Colonel Moshe Dayan took over as Military Commander of the Jewish areas of Jerusalem and Chief of the Sixth Israeli Army Brigade, succeeding Brigadier-General David Shaltiel.

The Israeli Government announced a new order permitting it to register for draft labor immigrants arriving in Israel after July 18.

*Aug. 4:* The Israeli Government notified Count Folke Bernadotte that it would not agree to British planes manned by the UN flying over Israeli positions. It asked the UN Security Council to declare that Great Britain violated the Palestine truce in holding 11,000 Jewish refugees on Cyprus.

*Aug. 5:* Brig. Gen. William E. Riley and 19 U. S. observers for the UN Truce Commission arrived in Haifa.

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok asked Count Folke Bernadotte to try to arrange a peace conference for direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states.

*Aug. 6:* In a letter to the Security Council, Great Britain protested that the 5 Britons charged with espionage by the Israeli Government were taken into custody in a UN zone, and asked that they be released.

*Aug. 7:* U. S. Consul General John J. MacDonald protested to the Israeli Military Governor of Jerusalem against the wounding of a consular



guard and other firing at American consulate employees; he requested the incidents be reported to the Security Council as a violation of the truce.

It was officially reported that Irgun Zvai Leumi had informed the Israeli Military Governor of Jerusalem that it accepted his authority in the city.

*Aug. 8:* Officials of the International Refugee Organization rejected an informal request by the Arab League that the I.R.O. assume responsibility for Arab refugees from Israeli-controlled territory.

*Aug. 9:* The Soviet Minister to Israel, Pavel Ivanovitch Yershov, arrived in Tel Aviv.

*Aug. 10:* The Secretary-General of the Arab League stated that the Arabs rejected Israel's proposal for direct peace negotiations.

Three of the 5 Britons held by Israel on espionage charges were released. Frederick Sylvester and William Hawkins were retained for trial in Jerusalem.

*Aug. 11:* The UN Mediator asked Arabs and Israelis not to fire, even if fired upon, after 6 a.m. GMT; the Arabs agreed. The Mediator asked Israeli troops to withdraw from strategic hill 312 on the Latrun-Ramallah road, holding that the hill was occupied after the truce was proclaimed.

*Aug. 12:* The water pumping station at Latrun was blown up, presumably by Arabs; the Israeli Government promptly withdrew from a previous agreement to evacuate the villages of Ajanjul and Buwayiri, to which Arab refugees were to be allowed to return. The UN took over the pumping station to supervise repairs.

The British Government donated £100,000 worth of medical stores and tents for the relief of refugee Arabs, to be turned over to "any suitable international organization designated by the UN Mediator."

James G. McDonald, first U. S. envoy to Israel, arrived in Tel Aviv.

*Aug. 13:* Four hundred Jewish Jerusalem city police were inducted into the Israeli constabulary.

The Israeli Government demanded that the Security Council fix a time limit on the truce.

*Aug. 15:* An Israeli attack on Arab positions in the Bab al-Wad area was reported.

The Stern Group held a public meeting in Jerusalem at which the "liberation" of the city and its transformation into the capital of Israel was urged.

*Aug. 16:* The Executive Board of the UN International Emergency Childrens' Fund decided to devote \$400,000 to feeding Arab refugee mothers and children.

*Aug. 17:* Count Folke Bernadotte requested U. S. help for the 337,000 refugees from Israel-Arab fighting in Palestine.

Israel issued its own currency, substituting the Israeli pound for the Palestine pound with no change in value. The new denominations would be issued by the Anglo-Palestine Bank of Tel Aviv; after September 15 Israeli currency would be the only legal tender in Israel.

An artillery duel between Israeli and Arab Legion troops raged for 5 hours in southern Jerusalem.

Soviet Minister Pavel I. Yershov presented his credentials in Tel Aviv.

The Israeli Military Governor of Jerusalem reported that 293 alleged Arab violations resulting in the death of at least 15 persons took place during the first month of the truce.

*Aug. 18:* The U. S., France, Canada, and Belgium noted that only the Security Council had power to discontinue the present Palestine truce; the Council warned it would consider positive action in the event the truce was broken. Both Israeli and Arab representatives reiterated their acceptance.

Secretary of State Marshall announced that the U. S. would furnish 125 enlisted men as UN truce observers at the request of the UN Mediator.

Peter Bergson, Yaaqov Meridor, Eliyahu Lenkin, Amitzar and Moshe Hasson, Irgunists jailed by the Israeli Government after the Irgun uprising of June 22, announced they were beginning a hunger strike.

King Abdallah reported that Transjordan was spending almost £250,000 a month on Palestine refugees.

*Aug. 19:* The Security Council adopted a resolution demanding that Arab and Israeli regular and irregular forces cease truce violations. (Text, *New York Times*, August 19, pages 1, 5.)

Egyptians demanded the withdrawal under threat of fire of Israeli forces who had evacuated and taken control of a girls' farm school and an Arab college near Government House in the Red Cross enclave.

*Aug. 20:* The Government of Israel, in a memorandum to the UN Security Council, applied for admission to the UN.

High Arab officials met in Amman to discuss unification of Arab forces for the fight in Palestine after the truce.

U. S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall informed the UN Mediator that the American Red Cross and other relief organizations would respond to his request of August 17 for aid for Palestine war refugees.

*Aug. 21:* The Mediator's Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Lundstroem, stated that the truce was being respected on all fronts except around Jerusalem, and that there would be 300 UN military observers on duty by August 26.

*Aug. 22:* A session of the World Zionist General Council began in Jerusalem.

*Aug. 23:* The Inspector-General of the Israeli Army and former commander in the Jerusalem area, Brigadier-General David Shaltiel, arrived in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The Egyptian Defense Ministry announced the death of the Egyptian Commander in Jerusalem, Ahmad Abd al-Aziz.

Speaking before the Inner Zionist Council in Jerusalem, Israel's Prime Minister David Ben Gurion expressed the hope of an early peace with the Arabs, said the truce was not "working against" Israel, that Israel reserved the right to suggest several frontier changes, that the Arab minority problem should be reconsidered by aiming at a stricter territorial separation between Arabs and Jews.

*Aug. 24:* The U. S. State Department announced it would protest the Israeli kidnapping and maltreatment of a U. S. code clerk, George Paro, in Jerusalem.

In a speech before the Zionist General Council, Dr. Emmanuel Neumann, President of the Zionist Organization of America, insisted that complete separation must exist between the activities of the Government of Israel and the governing bodies of the world Zionist movement. Israeli Prime Minister Ben Gurion revealed that Israel had been spending about 75% of its national income for war.

*Aug. 26:* The UN Mediator threatened to cite Israel to the Security Council for violating the Palestine truce unless Israeli troops were removed from the International Red Cross zone in Jerusalem, where they had been since Aug. 18.

*Aug. 28:* Two French officers on a UN aerial coast patrol near Gāza were forced down and killed by rifle fire.

*Aug. 29:* Egyptians and Israelis agreed to withdraw simultaneously troops and war equipment, and to destroy their own installations in the neutral zone surrounding the Red Cross area in Jerusalem which comprised Government House, an Arab college, and a Jewish school for girls. The UN would supervise the withdrawal.

The Egyptian Government cabled the UN Mediator admitting responsibility for the death on Aug. 28 of two French officers on patrol, and expressing regret.

## Saudi Arabia

(For comment on the developments of the quarter, see Oil, page 457.)

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 21:* Foreign Minister Amir Faysal Ibn Saud left London after conferring with Foreign Secretary Bevin and Foreign Office officials.

*June 25:* Settling a long-standing difference of opinion between the Saudi Arabian Government and the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), the latter agreed that if it chose not to pay its royalty of 4 gold shillings per ton of oil in gold sovereigns, and instead elected to pay in dollars, it would do so by computing its royalty at the rate of \$12 per gold pound. The agreement would hold so long as the official price of gold remained at \$35 an ounce.

*June 27:* King Abdallah of Transjordan arrived at Riyadh, where he was met by King Ibn Saud.

*July 15:* Saudi Arabia allowed a \$15,000,000 credit extended by the Export-Import Bank to expire.

*Aug. 12:* Transjordan and Saudi Arabia agreed to exchange diplomatic representatives. Sheikh Abd al-Aziz Kahaymi was designated Saudi Arabian Minister to Transjordan. (London *Times*, August 13, page 4.)

*Aug. 16:* Saudi Arabia refused to accept a \$15,000,000 U. S. loan because of American support of the Jews in Palestine.

## Syria

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

*June 11:* An Israeli communiqué announced an air raid on Damascus a few hours before the Palestine truce. Damascus announced a second raid in violation of the truce.

*June 14:* The U. S. Department of State announced that the Syrian Government had joined Egypt in rejecting U. S. protests against their announced blockade of the coast of Israel.

*June 30:* Syria signed the Protocol of Provisional application, to become, after a lapse of 30 days, a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of October 1947. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, July 24, page 48.)

*Aug. 17:* Shukri al-Quwwatli took the oath inaugurating his second five-year term of office as president. (*Arab News Bulletin*, No. 70, Aug. 1948.)

Aug. 19: The cabinet of Jamil Mardam Bey resigned. The Prime Minister was instructed to form a new one.

Aug. 23: A new cabinet was formed, as follows:

Jamil Mardam Bey — Prime Minister, Defense

Lutfi Haffar — Vice Prime Minister, State

Sa'id al-Ghazzi — Justice

Muhsin al-Barazi — Foreign Affairs

Muhammad al-'Ayish — Agriculture (acting), State

Sabri al-'Afali — Interior

Mikhail Ilyan — National Economy

'Adil Arslan — Health and Social Affairs

Ahmad Rifa'i — Public Works

Wahbah Hariri — Finance

Munir 'Ajilani — Education

## Transjordan

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

June 1: Israeli airmen bombed Amman in a surprise raid. Six Arabs were reported killed.

June 15: Dr. Syud Hossein, India's first Minister to Transjordan, presented his credentials to King Abdallah.

June 24: King Abdallah left Cairo, after conferring with King Farouk.

July 1: King Abdallah visited Baghdad. (London Times, July 2, page 4.)

July 12: The British Government withheld the £500,000 quarterly subsidy due Transjordan's military forces.

July 14: A riot protesting the British and American stand on Palestine took place in Amman.

July 18: King Abdallah personally dispensed a civilian mob shouting "Down with the British," "Down with Truman."

July 27: The British Government's quarterly subsidy to Transjordan was resumed after Transjordan had accepted the Palestine truce asked for by the Security Council.

Aug. 12: Transjordan and Saudi Arabia agreed to exchange diplomatic representatives. Sheikh Abd al-Aziz Kahaymi was designated Saudi Arabian Minister to Transjordan. (London Times, August 13, page 4.)

Aug. 15: Brigadier John Bagot Glubb Pasha, commander of the Arab Legion, arrived in London to discuss Britain's annual subsidy to the Arab Legion.

Aug. 18: King Abdallah reported that Transjordan was spending about £250,000 a month for the relief of Palestine refugees.

Aug. 21: Iraqi Regent Abd al-Ilah and Prime Minister Muzahim al-Pachachi conferred in Amman.

## Turkey

### CHRONOLOGY

1948

June 4: Turkish police and a U. S. narcotics agent seized \$1,000,000 worth of heroin in Istanbul.

June 6: Cemal Feridun Erkin, Ambassador to Italy, was appointed Ambassador to Washington. He would be replaced by Hüseyin Ragip Baydur, present Washington Ambassador.

June 8: The cabinet resigned. (London Times, June 9, page 4.)

June 10: Prime Minister Hasan Saka formed a new cabinet as follows:

Hasan Saka — Prime Minister

Semsettin Gunaltay — State

Fuat Sirmen — Justice

Hüsnü Çakır — Defense

Necmettin Sadak — Foreign Affairs

Şevket Adalan — Finance

Tahsin Banguoğlu — Education

Nihat Erim — Public Works

Cavit Ekin — Economy

Kemali Bayazit — Public Health

Emin Erisilgil — Monopolies

Cavit Oran — Agriculture

Kasım Gülek — Communications

Cemil Sait Barlas — Commerce

Bekir Balta — Labor

Münir Hüsrev Göle — Interior

June 15: A Turko-Swedish Trade and Payments Agreement came into effect, under which Sweden would sell Turkey cardboard, newsprint, machinery, machine tools, iron and steel products, and telephone equipment, in exchange for tobacco, dried fruit, linseed, cotton, copper, and chrome. (News from Turkey, June 17, page 2.)

June 18: The new cabinet of Hasan Saka received a vote of confidence from the Grand National Assembly.

July 4: U. S. Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson and Foreign Minister Necmettin Sadak signed an agreement providing for the procedure to implement ERP in Turkey.

July 6: M. Ali Türk geldi presented his credentials to Governor-General Rajagopalachari as Ambassador to India.

July 11: Turkish authorities announced they had arrested and charged with murder four of the

six anti-communists who arrived from Bulgaria by plane on June 30.

*July 14:* Twenty Turkish citizens charged with communist activities were convicted and 36 were freed in the biggest trial of communists ever held in Turkey. Şefik Hüsnü, leader of the dissolved Turkish Socialist Laborers and Peasant Party, was sentenced to five years hard labor.

*July 23:* Turkey received 11 auxiliary naval vessels under the American aid program.

*Aug. 4:* Turkish trade ministry officials announced a Soviet offer to buy valonia, the first time a Soviet offer had been made since 1939.

It was also announced that a Polish trade delegation headed by Antoni Roman, former Minister of Trade and Industry, had reached an agreement with Turkey whereby Poland would exchange sugar, newsprint, rolling stock, and

industrial equipment for Turkish tobacco and dried fruit.

*Aug. 6:* It was announced that a Council of National Defense was to be set up in Turkey under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. (*London Times*, Aug. 7, page 4.)

*Aug. 11:* George Wadsworth received a recess appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Turkey replacing Edwin C. Wilson.

*Aug. 16:* U. S. Secretary for Air W. Stuart Symington and General Hoyt Vandenberg, Air Force Chief of Staff, arrived in Ankara. (*News from Turkey*, Aug. 19, page 1.)

George Wadsworth, newly appointed U. S. Ambassador, visited Turkey to confer with his predecessor, Edwin C. Wilson.

*Aug. 20:* Edwin C. Wilson, retiring U. S. Ambassador, left Turkey.



# DOCUMENTS

TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY IN RESPECT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN<sup>1</sup>

*Amman, 15th March, 1948*

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas and His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan;

Animated by the most sincere desire to consolidate the friendship and good relations which exist between them and to establish these relations on the foundations best calculated to ensure the development of this friendship;

Desiring to conclude a new Treaty of Alliance with these objects and in order to strengthen by co-operation and mutual assistance the contribution which each of them will be able to make to the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter of the United Nations:

have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries,

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas (hereinafter referred to as His Britannic Majesty):

for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

Sir Alec Seath Kirkbride, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.C., his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan:

His Excellency Tewfiq Pasha Abul Huda, Jewelled Order of the Nahda, First Class Order of the Istiqlal, Prime Minister.

His Excellency Fauzi Pasha el Mulki, Second Class Order of the Istiqlal, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

who having exhibited their full powers found in good and due form have agreed as follows:—

## ARTICLE I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

A close alliance shall continue between the High Contracting Parties in consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to adopt in regard to foreign countries an attitude, which is inconsistent with the Alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto.

## ARTICLE 2

Should any dispute between either High Contracting Party and a third State produce a situation which would involve the risk of a rupture with that State, the High Contracting Parties will concert together with a view to the settlement of the said dispute by peaceful means in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of any other international obligations which may be applicable to the case.

## ARTICLE 3

Should either High Contracting Party notwithstanding the provisions of Article 2 become engaged in war, the other High Contracting Party will, subject always to the provisions of Article 4, immediately come to his aid as a measure of collective defence.

In the event of an imminent menace of hostilities the High Contracting Parties will immediately concert together the necessary measures of defence.

<sup>1</sup>Treaty Series No. 26 (1948), Cmd. 7404.

## ARTICLE 4

Nothing in the present Treaty is intended to, or shall in any way prejudice the rights and obligations which devolve, or may devolve, upon either of the High Contracting Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or under any other existing international agreements, conventions or treaties.

## ARTICLE 5

The present Treaty of which the Annex is an integral part shall replace the Treaty of Alliance signed in London on 22nd March, 1946, of the Christian Era,<sup>2</sup> together with its Annex and all Letters and Notes, interpreting or otherwise exchanged in 1946 in connexion therewith, provided however that Article 9 of the said Treaty shall remain in force in accordance with and as modified by the notes exchanged on this day on this subject.

## ARTICLE 6

Should any difference arise relative to the application or interpretation of the present Treaty and should the High Contracting Parties fail to settle such difference by direct negotiations, it shall be referred to the International Court of Justice unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

## ARTICLE 7

The present Treaty shall be ratified and shall come into force upon the exchange of instruments of ratification which shall take place in London as soon as possible. It shall remain in force for a period of 20 years from the date of its coming into force. At any time after 15 years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties will at the request of either of them, negotiate a revised Treaty which shall provide for the continued co-operation of the High Contracting Parties in the defence of their common interests. The period of 15 years shall be reduced if a complete system of security agreements under Article 43 of the Charter of the United Nations is concluded before the expiry of this period. At the end of 20 years, if the present Treaty has not been revised, it shall remain

in force until the expiry of one year after notice of termination has been given by either High Contracting Party to the other through the diplomatic channel.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Amman, this 15th day of March, 1948, in the English and Arabic languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(L.S.)

A. S. KIRKBRIDE.

(L.S.)

TEWFIQ ABUL HUDA.

(L.S.)

FAUZI EL MULKI.

## ANNEX

## ARTICLE I

(a) The High Contracting Parties recognise that, in the common interests of both, each of them must be in a position to discharge his obligations under Article 3 of the Treaty.

(b) In the event of either High Contracting Party becoming engaged in war, or of a menace of hostilities, each High Contracting Party will invite the other to bring to his territory or territory controlled by him the necessary forces of all arms. Each will furnish to the other all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of all means and lines of communication, and on financial terms to be agreed upon.

(c) His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan will safeguard, maintain and develop as necessary the airfields, ports, roads and other means and lines of communication in and across the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan as may be required for the purposes of the present Treaty and its annex and will call upon His Britannic Majesty's assistance as may be required for this purpose.

(d) Until such time as the High Contracting Parties agree that the state of world security renders such measures unnecessary, His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan invites His Britannic Majesty to maintain units of the Royal Air Force at Amman and Mafrak airfields. His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan will provide all the

<sup>2</sup> Treaty Series No. 32 (1946), Cmd. 6916.

necessary facilities for the accommodation and maintenance of the units mentioned in this paragraph, including facilities for the storage of their ammunition and supplies and the lease of any land required.

#### ARTICLE 2

In the common defence interests of the High Contracting Parties a permanent joint advisory body will be set up immediately on the coming into force of the present Treaty to co-ordinate defence matters between the Governments of the High Contracting Parties within the scope of the present Treaty.

This body, which will be known as the Anglo-Transjordan Joint Defence Board, will be composed of competent military representatives of the Governments of the High Contracting Parties in equal numbers, and its functions will include:—

- (a) The formulation of agreed plans in the strategic interests common to both countries.
- (b) Immediate consultation in the event of any threat of war.
- (c) The co-ordination of measures to enable the forces of either High Contracting Party to fulfil their obligations under Article 3 of the present Treaty and in particular measures for the safeguarding, maintenance and development of the airfields, ports and lines of communication referred to in Article 1 (c) of this Annex.
- (d) Consultation regarding training and the provision of equipment. The Joint Defence Board shall submit annual reports thereon and recommendations to the Governments of the two High Contracting Parties.
- (e) Arrangements regarding the joint training operations referred to in Article 6 of this Annex.
- (f) The consideration of and if necessary recommendation for the location of His Britannic Majesty's forces at places in Transjordan other than those provided for in Article 1 (d) of this Annex.

#### ARTICLE 3

His Britannic Majesty will reimburse to His Majesty the King of the Hashimite King-

dom of Transjordan all expenditure which the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan may incur in connexion with the provision of facilities under Article 1 (c) and (d) of the present Annex and will repair or pay compensation for any damage due to the actions of members of His Britannic Majesty's armed forces, other than damage caused in military operations undertaken in accordance with Article 3 of the present Treaty.

#### ARTICLE 4

His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan agrees to afford on request all necessary facilities for the movement of units of His Britannic Majesty's forces in transit across the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, with their supplies and equipment, on the same financial terms as those applicable to the forces of His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

#### ARTICLE 5

Pending the conclusion of an agreement between the High Contracting Parties defining in detail the jurisdictional and fiscal immunities of members of the forces of His Britannic Majesty in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, they will continue to enjoy the immunities which are accorded to them at present, including the provision that, in accordance with the established principles of international law governing the immunities of Sovereigns and sovereign States, no demand will be made for the payment by His Britannic Majesty of any Transjordan taxation in respect of immovable property leased or owned by His Britannic Majesty or in respect of his movable property, including customs duty on goods imported or exported by or on behalf of His Britannic Majesty. The privileges and immunities to be extended to the units and personnel of the armed forces of His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan visiting or present in British territory shall be defined in similar agreements on a reciprocal basis.

#### ARTICLE 6

In order that the armed forces of the High Contracting Parties should attain the neces-

sary efficiency in co-operation with each other and in view of the desirability of establishing identity between the training and methods employed by the Transjordan and British forces respectively:—

- (1) His Britannic Majesty offers appropriate facilities in the United Kingdom and in any British colony or protectorate administered by the Government of the United Kingdom for the training of the armed forces of His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.
- (2) His Britannic Majesty will make available operational units of his armed forces to engage in joint training operations with the armed forces of His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan for a sufficient period in each year.
- (3) His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan agrees to make available facilities in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan for the purposes of this joint training.
- (4) His Britannic Majesty will provide on request any British service personnel whose services are required to ensure the efficiency of the military units of the forces of the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.
- (5) His Britannic Majesty will (a) afford all possible facilities to His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan for the military instruction of Transjordan officers at schools of instruction maintained for His Britannic Majesty's forces, and (b) provide arms, ammunition, equipment and aircraft and other war material for the forces of His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.
- (6) His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan will (a) meet the cost of instruction and equipment referred to in paragraph 5 (a) and (b) above, (b) ensure that the armament and essential equipment of his forces shall not differ in type from those of the forces of His Britannic Majesty,

(c) send any personnel of his forces, that may be sent abroad for training, to military schools, colleges and training centres maintained for His Britannic Majesty's forces.

#### ARTICLE 7

His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan gives permission for ships of His Britannic Majesty's Navy to visit the ports of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan at any time upon giving notification to the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

(Initialled)

A. K.

T. A. H.

F. EL M.

(In an exchange of letters accompanying the above Treaty, the following particulars were set forth and acknowledged:

1. With reference to Article 4, the Government of Transjordan states that the Covenant of the Arab League "is included amongst the existing International Agreements to which this Article refers and is an agreement to which in this connexion . . . [it] attaches particular importance."

2. The British Government, "with a view to assisting the Government of . . . Transjordan in their desire to carry out extensive plans in economic and social development," will do all in their power to meet Transjordan's requests "for the services of any experts or officials with technical qualifications of whom the Government of . . . Transjordan may stand in need."

3. His Britannic Majesty, "as long as the Treaty is in force . . . will in accordance with arrangements to be agreed upon annually by the High Contracting Parties afford financial assistance to His Majesty the King of . . . Transjordan to enable him to carry out the obligations undertaken in Article 3."

4. The British Government "regret that they are not yet in a position to be able to negotiate a Commercial and Establishment Agreement . . . as provided in Article 9 of the Treaty of Alliance of the 22nd March, 1946, and propose that the period of two years mentioned in paragraph 2 of Article 9 of that Treaty shall be extended from the 22nd March, 1948, for a further period of two years and that subject to this amendment the said Article 9 shall continue to be operative for this further period."

5. "In connexion with Article 3 of the Annex . . . on the final evacuation of the British forces the Government of . . . Transjordan will either themselves take over at a fair valuation . . . any buildings, installations or permanent structures which may have been constructed under the



terms of . . . the Annex to the Treaty of Alliance . . . of March, 1946, or which may be constructed under the terms of . . . the Annex to the Treaty of Alliance signed this day, or will afford such facilities as may reasonably be necessary to enable the Government of the United Kingdom to dispose thereof to the best advantage."

6. The Government of Transjordan states that "although the new treaty contains no provisions similar to those contained in Articles 2, 3, 8 and 10 of the Treaty of Alliance signed on the 22nd March, 1946, their omission does not imply any intention to derogate from the principles set forth in these Articles.")

## BOOK REVIEWS

### ARAB WORLD

*Arabian Days*, by H. St. John B. Philby.  
London: Robert Hale, 1948. 336 pages,  
illustrations. 21s.

Philby's long-awaited autobiography will be greeted with interest and applause by the readers of his earlier works. Some may be disappointed that the present volume does not contain more of the author's experiences in Arabia itself, but *Arabian Days* should stimulate many who have not already done so to read the author's other excellent books; we hope that he will find it possible to write more of what he has garnered in the fields of Arabian geography, exploration, and history.

Those who are familiar with earlier works will note in the present volume a freer and livelier style reminiscent of Philby the conversationalist. The author begins by telling us, with some humor, about his ancestral background. His childhood followed a conventional pattern for the son of a British family living in the East. Born in Ceylon, the third son of a British tea planter, he was taken back to England at the age of six for schooling, later prepared at Westminster, and passed on to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a good school athlete, an outstanding student, and a natural linguist. Even at an early age, he had great confidence in his own gifts, and frankly states, "I grew up with a very good conceit of myself, something which I never altogether succeeded in shedding." This is apparent throughout the book.

In 1908 Philby went, naturally enough, from Cambridge into the Indian Civil Service. His seven years in India are the least interesting to the reader; however, they were most important for Philby as they were the avenue for entry into the Foreign and Diplomatic Department, his first assignment to Basra, and, later, to Baghdad. As a political officer in the early days of World War

I, when the British were engaged in driving the Turkish forces from Mesopotamia, Philby began his long association with other British luminaries in the Arabian scene: Sir Percy Cox, then Chief Political Officer with the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Forces; Gertrude Bell; A. T. Wilson; and others. This part of Philby's story, dealing only incidentally with the war in Mesopotamia, offers background material on Britain's relations with the Arabs in the war against the Turks; Sir Percy Cox's early efforts with Ibn Saud; and the later development of the Arab Bureau in Cairo with its own plan, in which T. E. Lawrence had a role, of currying Arab favor by supporting Ibn Saud's rising enemy, King Husayn.

Events were to bring Philby directly onto the Arabian scene. His personal conflict with Wilson resulted in his voluntary removal from Cox's headquarters at Baghdad, and his assignment by Cox as head of a mission to Riyadh to obtain Ibn Saud's co-operation against the Turks by attacking their ally, Ibn Rashid, and to divert him from the growing dissension with Husayn. Thus Philby began his long and intimate association with Ibn Saud. The year he spent in Arabia had little effect upon the war, but it definitely determined his future course. As an upshot of his travels in this little known area his first work, *The Heart of Arabia*, was published in 1922.

Several years were to elapse before Philby returned to Arabia. The war ended and he went to England on leave. The story he tells of his encounters with the Foreign Office over the safety of the Hijaz vis-à-vis the Wahhabis is most interesting in the light of subsequent developments. It was in the course of an abortive trip to Arabia in this connection that Philby first met Lawrence.

In the meantime, Sir Percy Cox had been appointed High Commissioner to Iraq and Philby returned to Baghdad as a member

of his staff. Here he tells a fascinating story of behind-the-scene politics and intrigue attending the establishment of the new state of Iraq, and of the British success in putting Faysal on the throne. Again Philby disagreed with British policy and resigned.

His next appointment, made, he says, at Lawrence's own suggestion, was as successor to Lawrence, then Chief British Representative in Transjordan. For three years Philby served in this capacity, enjoying the archaeological beauties of Petra, and doing what he could to "set the country on the high road to effective independence." Here again he was to find British officialdom unappreciative of his views. Again he resigned. Philby quotes his farewell interview with the then Amir Abdallah: "I have done my best for you. I have never since I came here had any desire but to establish your authority as an independent ruler of an independent state. You will find that my successor, however friendly, will be your master. I am sorry that my dream of an independent Arab State in Transjordan has not come true and is never likely to." Since Philby wrote *Arabian Days*, which was completed three years prior to publication, Transjordan has, of course, been created an independent state with Abdallah as King. Whether or not Philby would recognize it as independent is another question.

Philby's next effort, to enter Parliament, was unsuccessful. His official career ended, he returned to Arabia to start a commercial enterprise selling, among other modern necessities, Ford cars and perambulators.

Toward the end, the book tells of the triumph of Ibn Saud in the Hijaz and of the consolidation of his kingdom in the Arabian Peninsula. Ibn Saud's capture of Jidda followed soon after Philby took up residence there. Friendship with the King grew and flowered when in 1930 Philby embraced Islam and was unofficially installed as a member of the King's "Privy" Council. The King aptly describes Philby as "the leader of the opposition." Except for a five-year period of enforced exile in England during the war (Philby had continued to criticize the British), Arabia has been and is still Philby's home. Continuing as a member of the King's

Council, he has had a unique opportunity to observe and play a part in the fascinating drama of the transformation of Arabia.

GARRY OWEN  
Jidda, Saudi Arabia

*The Sand Kings of Oman*, by Raymond O'Shea. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1947. 209 pages, 16 photographs, 2 maps. 12s. 6d.

To authorities on Arabia, *The Sand Kings of Oman* will not be a valuable book, since it is neither the product of prodigious research nor the record of a great journey; it does not give any hitherto unknown information, and a great deal of the material it contains is unfortunately inaccurate. It is, however, a revealing word-picture for those readers not conversant with the country: its people, its inhospitable deserts, and the lives of those men who, like O'Shea, were sent to swelter out the war in the remote British outposts of Southern Arabia.

Raymond O'Shea was seconded from the R.A.F. to the B.O.A.C. during the war, and in 1944 became Station Manager at Sharja; it is with his life there that the book is mainly concerned. "Some men," he writes, "find deep inner enjoyment in living in lonely places and occupy their minds by taking a creative interest in the country, the people, their language, and the flora and fauna. People of this type rarely suffer a breakdown and even a long stay seems to do them no harm." O'Shea is one of these: he has certainly not wasted his two years on the Gulf, for he troubled himself to investigate the history and geography of Trucial Oman, its sociology and ethnography, its flora and fauna, in fact everything that he, a self-confessed amateur, possibly could inquire into.

One of the drawbacks of the volume is that O'Shea has fallen very much under the spell of T. E. Lawrence, has indeed been overwhelmed by him. This is not the place to debate Lawrence's qualifications and authority on matters affecting parts of Arabia outside the Hijaz (Bray has dealt with this controversial subject satisfactorily in *A Paladin of Arabia* and *Shifting Sands*), but the fact

that Lawrence's name occurs constantly throughout the book and that O'Shea pays only scant and grudging homage to such authorities as Cheesman, Philby, Thomas, von Wrede, and Leachman is indicative of an immature appreciation of matters Arabian. For instance, one might question his vague reference to Leachman as simply "a British official." Would he, one wonders, refer to Shakespeare simply as an English writer of plays?

His best chapters discuss four subjects closely linked with the Oman peninsula — oil, pearls, slavery, and piracy — the last two of which he alleges are obsolescent. Any chapter on Arabian oil is of necessity out of date by the time it is published, and it is perhaps unfair to question his statistics too closely. But it must be noted that, when speaking of the Gulf refineries, O'Shea makes no mention of the refinery at Ras Tanura or the plan for the topping plant at Kuwait; neither are we told of the Abadan-Kuwait-Mediterranean pipeline which is to be built by a new Anglo-American pipeline company. There is no reference to the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company's activities in Saudi Arabia, which include the construction of a thirty inch pipeline from Abqaiq to Sidon at a cost of over \$200,000,000. Kuwait, the author states, is "shut." But in fact, the Kuwait Oil Company has been operating in earnest since early 1945 and has at least 9 billion barrels of proven reserves. Saudi Arabia and Bahrein are said by O'Shea to produce a total of about 35,000 barrels per day. Actually, by the end of 1946, the Aramco fields of Saudi Arabia were producing at the rate of about 200,000 barrels per day, while Bahrein added 21,000 more barrels to the daily total. The estimated oil reserves in Saudi Arabia (4.5 billion) are double O'Shea's figure, and Qatar's reserves (now estimated at about one billion barrels) are more than twice as large as he states. One might likewise wonder at the authority for his "exclusive" revelation of the network of oil pipelines which is said to cover the Rub al-Khali, Oman, Trucial Oman, and the Hasa.

As a diary of the details and impressions of life in a desert outpost, the book fares much

better. Any reader who has tried to analyze the effect of the Arabian desert on men's souls will feel that he has found a kindred spirit when he reads O'Shea's summing up: "But if Arabia ceased to retain some of its mystery, its fascination has never dwindled. . . . The spell which the desert casts upon those who come to know its barren and inhospitable interior is no mere fiction. The sand not only gets into one's eyes but into the soul. A man may hate it, despise its infertile harshness, and long for the green fields of home, but in his heart there is always a delight when he recalls the sun setting in purple grandeur behind the dunes or the tenuous shadows cast by a passing camel caravan."

ERIC MACRO  
Royal Asiatic Society  
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*The Unity of the Nile Valley: Its Geographical Bases and its Manifestations in History*, by Abbas Ammar, Ahmad Badawi, Ibrahim Noshi, M. Shafik Ghorbal, Abdel Rahman Zaki. Cairo: Government Press, 1947. 98 pages. 16 maps.

The primary purpose in the publication of this group of essays by the Egyptian Council of Ministers is to present the plea that Egypt be given a free hand in the Sudan and be permitted to proceed with the development of the Nile Basin without European interference. The Egyptians believe, with considerable justification, that the future economic welfare of their country is largely dependent upon control of the Upper Nile and wise use of its waters. The extension of perennial irrigation and the expansion of summer crops in Upper Egypt can only be accomplished through storage in the Sudan during the flood season of an ample supply of water. If the Sudan is foreign-dominated, there is always the possibility that circumstances may arise whereby Egypt will be cut off from this supply. Hence, the authors' argument that Egypt should be given the right to protect its interests and to extend its administration over all "Nileland."

In support of this thesis, evidence is presented to show that the physical, ethno-



graphical, cultural, and economic phenomena of the area demonstrate a unity which should not be arbitrarily ignored. Many of the data presented are, of course, open to various interpretations and in the past have been the basis for divergent conclusions; readers of the present essays may in some cases arrive at an honest difference of opinion from that expressed by the writers.

The longest and most comprehensive discussion is by Dr. Abbas Ammar, comprising Part I: the Geographical Section. Subjects treated include the physical, ethnic, cultural, and economic bases of argument, and "Britain's Real Aims in Retaining the Sudan." Despite its heading, Part I tends more to an economic and historical consideration than to a physiographic study. In the section on ethnic bases, the writer leans heavily on C. G. Seligman, the great British authority on the ethnography of the Nile basin, and derives useful material from Sir Harold MacMichael and Julian Huxley. In considering the cultural bases, he stresses the interrelation of Egypt and Northern Sudan since earliest times. There are readers who probably will not agree with his suggestion that all Christian missionaries should withdraw and permit the conversion of the inhabitants to Islam, but most will concur that efforts to keep the primitive peoples within the framework of their native culture should be discontinued and the forces of acculturation be allowed to function. The main theme in the section on economic bases is the whole area's undeniable common interest in and dependence on the Nile. As far as "Britain's Real Aims" are concerned, the material is what one would expect from an Egyptian point of view.

The second part of the publication, the Historical Section, consists of five parts which expand on many of the points made in the first section. The "Discussion of Manifestations of the Unity in Ancient Times" by Dr. Ahmad Badawi and Dr. Ibrahim Noshi is interesting reading and follows closely the work of Budge, Breasted, Reisner, Jouguet, and other well-known authorities. "The Transformation of Egypt and the Sudan into a Muslim Arabic-Speaking Country" is treated briefly by Dr. Abbas Ammar, who

refers the reader to Sir Harold MacMichael's *History of the Arabs in the Sudan* for further details. The fourth and fifth parts by Mohammad Shafik Ghorbal discuss "The Building-up of a Single Egyptian Sudanese Fatherland in the 19th Century" by the Viceroys Muhammad Ali and Ismail, and "British Policy in Egypt and the Sudan." The final part by Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Rahman Zaki summarizes "The Progress of the Sudan in the 19th and 20th Centuries." The appended series of maps is very useful.

FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.  
Washington, D. C.

*Nomad*, by Robin Maugham. New York: The Viking Press, 1948. 183 pages. \$2.75.

*Nomad* is a young British officer's own story of his recent wartime contact with the Arab world. Robin Maugham, nephew of Somerset, has something of his distinguished relative's facility in portraying people, and the value of his account lies in his "candid shots" rather than in any slender contribution to public knowledge of the Arab East.

Beginning with his hospitalization in North Africa, after the catastrophic tank battle of Knightsbridge in which he was severely wounded, the author describes the atmosphere of the military hospital, tense with the crisis of El Alamein and the nightmares of pain and recent battle.

With the removal of the hospital to Palestine began his slow convalescence and a quiet awakening of interest in his surroundings. The friendliness of the Arabs and the peaceful charm of the countryside stimulated him to read and observe, and as he recovered sufficiently for return to duty, to undertake a British intelligence assignment involving close study of Arab affairs. Here he was brought into contact with personalities and undercurrents of thought which provide the real meat of the book: the comparative attitudes of British and French military leaders in wartime Levant; the restless nationalism of the Arabs and their sensitivity to the occupying forces; the drifting elements among native populations, cut loose by the violent struggle of the war and degraded by the accidents of brutality incident to contact

between fighting men and civilian populations; the contrast between "brass hat" Allied generals, crusty and stubborn in their "superiority" over the "natives," and such quiet leaders as Glubb Pasha, characterized as greater in his field than T. E. Lawrence.

The portrait of Glubb and the deep devotion shown to him by his Arab Legion will be of particular interest to students of Middle Eastern affairs, since politics among the Arabs is strongly influenced by personalities and personal loyalty. Maugham's contacts with Glubb were a by-product of his efforts to establish an Arab training center in northern Syria, where carefully selected British officers and men would drill with Arab troops in a plan of guerrilla warfare, to be applied in the event of a German push southward through Asia Minor. The push never occurred, and later efforts to make this training center a beginning of larger efforts toward a cultural institute for Britishers and Arabs appears not to have succeeded.

At this point the principal defect of the book is revealed: it builds up the reader's interest in a project of great concern to the author, then fails to indicate the final outcome of his efforts. The story, otherwise well told, is truncated. Robin Maugham appears to have made a sincere beginning in his personal quest for Arab-Western understanding.

P. T. HART  
Washington, D. C.

*Arabesque*, by Geoffrey Household. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1948. 312 pages. \$2.75.

The formula for a popular novel about the Middle East remains as immutable as that of the Hollywood western: a story of intrigue, with a goodly portion of violence, espionage, and mystery; a semi-torrid to torrid love affair between two Europeans, with enough local competition to make it exotic; enough of the flavor of Middle East politics to leave the reader thoroughly confused, but not enough to make the book "controversial"; a smattering of sheikhs in "robes of chocolate and gold"; and Arabs, all either lord or lackey and preferably dishonest.

By these criteria, Geoffrey Household's

novel *Arabesque* should be the answer to a publisher's dream, for in the story of Armande Herne, a beautiful young woman left stranded in Beirut in 1941, who everybody thought ought to be a spy if she was not, the traditional ingredients are well blended. Mrs. Herne, wishing to be of service to the British, journeys to the mountains of Lebanon to wheedle a cache of arms from a wealthy Maronite leader; becomes disillusioned when she discovers the British agent for whom she worked was really a Zionist and was turning the arms over to his Jewish compatriots; is black-listed by the British; flees to Cairo, where she becomes a dancer in a sordid night club; and eventually, as a result of her ripening friendship with Sergeant Prayle of the British Field Security Department, gets a chance to do a real espionage job for the Allies. The sardonic, cool-headed Prayle nearly gets himself murdered in a tense meeting with the Irgun, but lives to face the future with Armande. If *Arabesque* does not quite make the grade, even as an adventure story, the fault lies in Mr. Household's difficulty in portraying his two principal characters who, despite some good lines, remain shadowy and unconvincing.

It is somewhat puzzling to note that most professional book reviewers have employed such adjectives as "extraordinarily objective" and "dispassionate" in describing Mr. Household's work. *Arabesque* is no political treatise, yet it is quite apparent that the author acquired some definite opinions about the Middle Eastern scene during the six years he served there as an intelligence officer. His sympathies appear to be primarily with the British, and secondly with the Zionists. While he roundly condemns Jewish terrorist groups and is generally cynical about many Zionist methods ("The Jews are wholeheartedly in the war. They have one against the Germans and one . . . against us. The first is for freedom, internationalism, and racial equality; the second is for dictatorship, nationalism and domination of the fellow Semite."), he shows genuine sympathy for the basic Zionist ideal. Sergeant Prayle's superior, Captain Fairfeather, soliloquizes at one point: "I too am a Zion-

ist, and I weep for Zion like Jeremiah. There's a fine splendid spirit in the making of this country. Never mind their national socialism — only a rather ruthless government of gangsters could make the desert flower as they have done. Under the surface is real joy and idealism and utter self-sacrifice. And all this glorious interesting experiment is in danger, just because a people who can be incredibly cunning over trifles like arms cannot learn to be cunning in statecraft."

The reader might expect an "extraordinarily objective" writer to be equally sympathetic with the Arabs, but their desire for independence is treated throughout as a childish whim. Household's Arab characters, almost without exception, are the hackneyed feudal types so popular in fiction, and he does not attempt to analyze, or even introduce, any thinking, middle-class Lebanese, Palestinian, or Egyptian.

One gets the impression that Mr. Household most enjoyed writing the sub-plot making fun of British Army bureaucracy. He portrays with affectionate irony that strange assortment of human beings thrown together by war. ("If these journalists, schoolmasters, clerks and commercial travelers had been dressed to fit their civilian trades . . . he would never have noticed . . . any collective quality to be loved; but when faces were framed alike in the sweat-stained collars of battle dress. . .") Well worth seeking out, too, is his engaging description of the Hotel St. Georges in Beirut in 1941 "which was run by Greeks and staffed by Lebanese" but "remained tenaciously French."

Household fans looking for another novel of the caliber of *The Third Hour* or *Rogue Male* will be disappointed by *Arabesque*; Middle East experts need not put it down as a "must" for their libraries. But it is still a pleasant evening's reading, for it is rescued from mediocrity by Mr. Household's distinctive, tangy style, his dry humor, his graphic, economical descriptions of scenes, and his knack for endowing his minor characters with a reality he cannot seem to achieve for his two principals.

HELEN A. KITCHEN  
Washington, D. C.

*Maze of Justice*, by Tewfik el-Hakim. Translated by A. S. Eban. London: Harvill Press, 1947. 122 pages. 7s. 6d.

*Maze of Justice* is a novel loosely cast in the form of the diary of an official in a small Egyptian district. The story begins with the report of a shooting in a village, and ends when the case is closed "owing to the non-discovery of the assailant." The investigation, for a few days intermittently and rather lackadaisically pursued, forms the thread on which are strung a dozen scenes illustrating the administration of justice in Egypt.

This is the first novel by Tewfik el-Hakim to be translated from Arabic into English, and it is impressive. Its first good quality is utter honesty: the writer makes no attempt to hide, to excuse, or to justify. He writes vividly ("an old peasant, his chest sprouting with bluish-white tufts of hair like the coat of an aged hyena"), and though his ostensible subject is a murder case which has no plot, no solution, and no clues, the tale grips one from start to finish. It moves smoothly from one minutely observed but frustrating scene to the next, its very inconclusiveness stamping the whole with the truth of life.

No sensitive and intelligent person who has worked in the Near or Middle East can have failed to question sometimes the value of Western justice to the East. When the crime is one such as murder, recognized as crime by every religion in the world, it is the procedure which is incomprehensible. The law of evidence seems out of place in a country where relations are personal or religious, and the concept of civic duty is rudimentary. British writers have noted this aspect of the problem; Tewfik el-Hakim treats other aspects as well. He presents in more than one of his many court scenes the problem of the man-made crime, unknown to the Koran or the Bible; for example, the peasant's eating grain grown by him but reserved for the State. Here the peasant not only fails to understand the forms of law, but cannot see that he has done anything wrong. An additional problem arises where a Western system of law is administered by the people of an Eastern country, and is

foreign to the governors as well as the governed.

All who know the East have seen the strange callousness with which the petty official, whether Indian or Arab, often regards the public. Indians and Arabs are not naturally less sympathetic than the peoples of the West; indeed their sympathy flows more easily when it can be spontaneous and emotional. But professional habit seems very early to skim over their original sensitiveness to the troubles of others. The judge in this story, who comes daily from Cairo and must return by the eleven o'clock train every morning, is an extreme example, though not unique. Tewfik el-Hakim writes sadly: "Was there any remnant left of the sensitiveness and fine feeling with which we all began our official work?"

The same judge also illustrates the fear and dislike with which the educated regard serving away from the big towns. The thought of doing so voluntarily does not seem to occur even to Tewfik el-Hakim.

No reader should allow himself to be put off this book by its unattractive binding and printing. The translation is readable and gives the impression of being accurate, but fewer Arabic terms and a brief translator's note on the exact responsibilities of the various officials would have been appreciated. Most of the functions of the Legal Officer himself one picks up as the story develops, but his official relation to the *ma'mur* remains obscure to the end.

PHILIP WOODRUFF

Bridport, Dorset, England

## INDIA

*Nehru on Gandhi*, by Jawaharlal Nehru. New York: John Day, 1948. 146 pages. \$2.00.

No single picture of Mohandas K. Gandhi could possibly present him fully. Nor could it be done best by one who set out with that deliberate intent. The chief value in Nehru's interpretations of him lies in the fact that he was trying to evaluate the great leader for himself during the crises of India's long

struggle. In these smoothly arranged extracts from his published works, we find Nehru's search for the essentials of Gandhi's power and leadership. This living record, made up of many parts, written at many different times under various stresses or through hours of lonely thought, gives as perfectly as words may express them the true proportions of Mahatma Gandhi.

Nehru wrote out of experience: moments of intense admiration, almost exaltation; periods of confusion and question; struggles to relate deep spiritual mysticism with the practical need for action. Nehru was sometimes puzzled, often angry, frequently hopeless for the success of the movement for independence to which he, his whole family, and millions of others had given themselves. But none of these mental difficulties could prevent him from appreciating that Gandhi was indispensable to the spirit of the movement.

The roots of Gandhi's spiritual leadership were grounded in his own religious consciousness. His was no cut and dried theology but a way of life drawn from many philosophical quarters. He applied the essence of his long hours of meditation and the temper of his self-denial to the practical problems facing India. It was on this point of emphasis on religion as the basis of the solution of India's need for freedom and for economic rejuvenation that he and Nehru stood farthest apart. Gandhi believed in simple village industries, Nehru in industrialization. When more than once Gandhi stopped the on-sweeping movement of nonviolent resistance out of a feeling of religious un-rightness, the struggle for understanding between the two men was painful. But despite it Nehru recognized the fact that the undefeatable quality in Gandhi which so often swept millions of his countrymen to self-forgetful action was this very spirituality which baffled him and which he could not fully share. Nehru honored the source of Gandhi's strength and tried to add his strength and instrumentation to the soul-force of his leader.

When Gandhi was suddenly struck down, Nehru knew that the source of the fire that had kindled and rekindled his people was



gone. Had enough other hearts and minds been lit from the source to keep the light burning? Speaking before the Indian Parliament just after Gandhi's death, Nehru said, "A glory has departed and the sun that warmed us and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in the cold and dark. Yet he would not have us feel this way . . . for all these years that man with the divine fire changed us also, and, such as we are, we have been molded by him . . . and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark. . . ."

Nehru better than any other can interpret Gandhi to the world, for as Gandhi's heir to India he is a man of both East and West. This volume is priceless, coming at a time when the world seeks to find freedom and truth and peace by the very antitheses of the methods Gandhi used in the most notable achievement of struggle in recent human history.

CORNELIA SPENCER  
(Grace S. Yaukey)  
Bethesda, Maryland

*An Advanced History of India*, by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, Kalinkar Datta. 2nd edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1948. 1081 pages. \$7.50.

The preface states that *An Advanced History of India* is "primarily intended to meet the requirements of advanced students." More particularly, Indian university students will find it enormously useful, as will the student of Indology and the reference library. A generous scattering of good illustrations, a chronological table, bibliographies, and an extensive index enhance the value of the work from this point of view. But the general reader and college student in this country will not find the ideal answer to their needs here.

The discussion of Ancient India is particularly unsuited to the American reader. It is crammed with erudite detail which only the advanced Indian student could find of any interest, and which obscures the story of the ancient period. This approach does not lend itself to mature writing and interpretation. Its discussion of social and ethnic

matters, for example, would scarcely satisfy the sociologist or anthropologist. Nevertheless, it can be said that the section shows careful consideration of all authorities on Indian history and a cautious approach to independent conclusions.

Part II, that on the Moslem period, is the most readable portion of the book. By comparison with Parts I and III, it has sweep and inspiration. The treatment of the period since the arrival of the British (Part III) is disappointing in its slight treatment of the rise and progress of Indian nationalism, the most significant development of modern India — more than one important political development is not even mentioned. Possibly the authors deemed it necessary to approach this period with extreme caution, but the upshot is that a good history of the nationalist movement, culminating in the independent dominions of India and Pakistan, has yet to be written.

HORACE I. POLEMAN  
Library of Congress  
Washington, D. C.

*India: A Survey of the Heritage and Growth of Indian Nationalism*, by T. Walter Wallbank. New York: Henry Holt, 1948. vii + 118 pages. \$1.40.

Until recently, the Indian scene was interpreted to the American public chiefly by missionaries and tourists; neither group was qualified for the task by inclination or by outlook. The missionaries, whose activities were in most cases confined to the backward areas, usually wrote with one eye on the purses of generous Americans and the other on their own peculiar interest in India; consequently they concentrated on detailed accounts of the poverty and backwardness of the people and the intricate workings of the caste system. The tourists, on the other hand, felt qualified to sum up a sojourn of a few weeks or perhaps a month or two in a book about the people of India and their problems. Both sets of writers painted a distorted picture.

Happily, Wallbank's *India* is in a different class, despite the handicap of brevity. There are a few places where one who is familiar

with India at first hand will not agree with the author. He mentions, for instance, that the temperature in the northern plains reaches 125 degrees in the shade, a statement which, according to the reviewer's experience, does not conform to actuality. He also writes, "There are now more than 2,000 castes in Hindu society. Each caste tends to live within itself. Rigid rules make it impossible for a Hindu to marry outside of his caste or eat, drink, or have any social contact except with the members of the caste to which he was born." No Hindu would agree with the statement. The fact is that there are only four castes and the rest are subdivisions. The rigid restrictions he mentions do not exist among the three upper castes except in the case of marriage.

In writing of the pattern of Indian life, a subject offering many shades of opinion, the author makes an appearance of impartiality by leaving statistics to speak for themselves. This, however, often creates a wrong impression. As an example, on page 87 we find figures comparing the number of Indians and Britons holding posts in the various services "excluding," he says, "the very lowest ranks." Figures do not lie, but one must go beyond them. The fact is that practically all the executive posts or the positions of any importance in the Government of India were occupied by British officers; Indians occupied, except in very rare instances, only the lowest.

The author presents the salient points of "the rise and the fulfillment of Indian nationalism" (1885 to 1947) very ably. However, his appraisal of the position of the Indian States after the lapse of British domination in India, when he says that they "were free to join Pakistan or India or as another alternative, to try to remain aloof from either Dominion as Sovereign States" is untenable. The strained relations now existing between Hyderabad and India are an indication of the degree of freedom of choice. Further, that the decision of the Maharaja of Kashmir to join the Indian Dominion was "a move taken to forestall the popular movement by his Moslem subjects for union with Pakistan" is dubious.

On the whole, however, the book gives an

accurate outline and only requires filling in with details and, more particularly, with lights and shades. It is good reading, and forms a valuable popular background for a detailed study of India and its problems. The book is timely and should contribute much in interpreting India to the American people.

HARNAM SINGH  
Washington, D. C.

*Tumult in India*, by George E. Jones. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1948. 277 pages. \$3.00.

As correspondent for the *New York Times*, Mr. Jones was in India during the most momentous period of its modern history: 1946-47, when self-government through partition was achieved and the British departed. His chronicle of the turbulent events is readable, well-informed, and balanced in judgment. Since there were few qualified observers and no social scientists on hand at the time, it is also extremely valuable.

Covering, as it does, a period of outstanding political change, *Tumult in India* naturally focuses on political affairs and public personalities. The background is deftly sketched and the events themselves are succinctly recounted. Personalities are well characterized, the best and fullest portrait being that of Gandhi, whose paradoxical character is treated somewhat irreverently but with full realization of his importance. Lesser sketches of Nehru, Patel, and Narain, and very brief sidelights on a number of others are also included.

Mr. Jones sums up the role of the British in India as that of a rather efficient but unimaginative bureaucracy which allowed itself to become increasingly self-absorbed as it faced ever greater obstacles. He regards partition as the inevitable consequence of factors accumulating in the last fifteen years: the indecisiveness of the British, the mounting cost of living, the growing intransigence of Hindus and Moslems as they jockeyed for position. The fanatical riots that took place before and after partition were, in his view, largely due to these same factors. Severe as these riots were — and he gives a vivid pic-

ture of their spread across India — he tends to think that they could have been worse. They came to a halt because of the sheer weariness of the people together with some real effort put forth by the two fledgling governments.

The book does well what it sets out to do: to give a vivid account of events from a political point of view. But it is weak where a fundamental knowledge of Indian economics and social organization is required. The chapter on India's poverty completely muffs the population problem. It assumes that the registered birth rate is correct, whereas everybody knows it is far too low; it takes the over-all density of India as a meaningful figure, whereas the density of particular regions, such as the Ganges valley and the coastal strips, is comparable with that of smaller countries like Japan and England; and it fails to say anything about the huge growth of India's population. The chapter on religious conflict gets confused in the terminology of caste, subcaste, and clan, leaving the subject more obscure than if it had been ignored altogether. One remark seemingly underrates the power of the Christian group, the third largest religious group in India, and the book leaves a worse impression of the princely states than the statistics seem to justify.

In the realm of prediction, the author is somewhat hazy. He envisages the possibility of one-party rule and a swing to the right. But he does not think the left should be entirely discounted. He seems to think further industrialization and modernization are possible, but he has not grasped this problem in its real and somewhat ominous context.

KINGSLEY DAVIS  
Columbia University

*Son of the Moon*, by Joseph George Hitrec.  
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.  
379 pages. \$3.00.

During thirteen years in India, Joseph Hitrec apparently absorbed with exceptional sensitivity the customs, traditions, and spirit of the people. His first writings were in his native Yugoslavian, but since then he has published numerous short stories in English,

and in *Son of the Moon* has achieved a Harper Prize novel which is a wide-ranging, sympathetic study of the conflicting influences of change on a variety of high-caste people in modern India.

His central character is Vijay Ramsingh, a young Hindu of Rajput heritage. Vijay is an earnest young man as intent on converting others and as impatient with conservatism as any youth one might meet fresh out of Harvard or Princeton. As the book opens, in January 1936, he is just returning home after two years in England. There he had been enthusiastically received as a successful airplane pilot, the first to complete a solo flight from India to England, and in this mellow atmosphere had quickly adopted Western ideas of progress.

Home again among the spirited members of his household, Vijay finds subtle opposition to his modernizing notions. His family wish him to become one of them again, a distinguished Hindu respectful of tradition, directing his urges for reform toward realizing a free India. Vijay nevertheless sets out on some flying projects of his own. Gradually, through the failure of these projects and some deeply emotional experiences — his mother's death, the political murder of his intimate Moslem friend, and finally his realization of love — he finds the way to maturity and influence through full acceptance of himself as an Indian and a Hindu Rajput.

Overcoming a slow start, *Son of the Moon* grows more and more absorbing as Vijay becomes involved in political struggles and his own love conflicts. His first love affairs are as stumbling and unsatisfactory as his aviation projects. When he accepts India for itself he can accept also his love for Chanda, the intelligent, beautiful daughter of a family friend. Although his ultimate choice of Chanda is inevitable, the love story, from the first meetings to its moving fulfillment, is handled with a perceptiveness that puts it far above the commonplace. In another book the detailed account of the wedding ceremony would be anti-climactic, but here festival and ritual are so much a part of the people that the description of a wedding, a funeral, the Divali celebration, the snake worship, stand

out as vivid symbols of life's meaning in Hindu terms.

The descriptions of Indian scenery are less satisfying. The style is too often ornate, and here as well as elsewhere the book needs a bit of the light touch. The people that surround and influence Vijay, despite their volubility and certain distinguishing characteristics, are more the spokesmen for ways of life than they are full-bodied individuals. At the same time, another sort of reality emerges: a deep feeling for India, its intricacy, its legends, its history, its many divergent religious groups, all of which are brought together with skill and understanding to create a convincing sense of atmosphere.

HELEN P. AVERY  
Silver Spring, Md.

## NORTH AFRICA

*Le Nationalisme Marocain*, by F. Taillard.  
Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1947. 206 pages.  
Fr. 99.

In the preface of his study of Moroccan nationalism, M. Taillard states his primary arguments roughly as follows: The evolution of Moroccan nationalism will, if France does not watch out, force the latter to abandon its protectorate. France has no governmental policy toward Moslems, in Morocco or elsewhere. The strength of those who call themselves enemies is built on France's own weaknesses, its internal arguments, and its lack of political planning. The author's purpose is to tell the truth, to show how the situation can be salvaged, how France can keep faith with the few Moroccans still loyal to it, and how French Union can be brought about.

The Nationalist Party in Morocco was started in 1930 under the leadership of Allal el-Fasi as a reaction to the Berber Dahir of May 16, 1930, granting the Berber-speaking peoples the right to continue using their traditional pre-Moslem legal code. The chief converts to this movement were young city Arabs, mostly from Fez. They were French-educated, particularly in law. They campaigned for many kinds of reforms,

stressing their desire for political and economic equality. In 1937, Allal el-Fasi was deported to Gabon, and other leaders were dispersed elsewhere.

In January 1944, trouble broke out, especially in Fez and Rabat, after a Nationalist committee had handed the resident-general a bill of rights. In describing the incident, M. Taillard includes detailed accounts of the injuries to several French officials, with the numbers of children each had sired, but says little of the sufferings of the Arab population. He blames a few excited young hotheads and the Germans for the outburst of violence. Although historians of the future may find this section partisan, they must admit that M. Taillard prints some documentation for both sides.

Marshal Lyautey stated that the duty of the protecting power was to maintain an over-all control, while the country administered itself. As an example of the dilemma to which this dictum has led, M. Taillard cites the problem of the Berbers whom, until the Berber Dahir of 1930, the French tended to subject to Arab influence for the sake of unification. The author admits that the French have taken over direct control "because of our mania to wish to put everything in legal form (*tout vouloir légiférer*) and our need of centralization." He goes on to criticize French red tape, and, conceding the justice of the desire of young Moors to participate in their own government, to recommend that the French train them to assume governmental posts.

The author discourses at length on the subject of reforms, particularly in education. Here he quotes the accusations and proposals of the extreme Independence Party (*Istiqlal*), and gives government figures in rebuttal. He mentions the difficulty in finding teachers for Moslem schools, in providing them with living quarters in the country, persuading parents to send their children to school, and so on; but whoever or whatever is at fault, the fact remains that by letting illiteracy persist, and by failing to give technical instruction, the French have sown the seed of their own failure. The reviewer believes this is the most important single fact in Morocco today.



The second part of the book deals topically with the policies of the Nationalists, their relations with foreign powers, and the position of France as a whole in Morocco. Taillard mentions the false hopes generated by the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, and recounts how many Moroccans looked vainly toward the United States as their deliverer. He traces the rise of the Communist Party in Morocco, encouraged by Frenchmen, and quotes a long sample of Communist literature which includes the clearest summary this reviewer has ever seen of the mineral resources of Morocco. Details are given of the German attempts to win over specific Moors, and the texts of Arab broadcasters in Axis pay are quoted. These consist mostly of diatribes against the British, Americans, and Jews. In his treatment of American influence, the author praises the work of the food-control vice consuls before the landings. He says that we were popular in 1943, but that poor behavior on the part of our troops reduced the esteem in which we were held by Moslems later. He lists American firms currently interested in commerce in the Casablanca region, and concludes that "America, like ourselves, has a right to work in Morocco." He also grants "M. Clines, cet arabisant distingué," by which he seems to mean Professor Walter B. Cline, the right to carry on his cultural researches in Marrakesh.

The author realistically traces the recent decline of French prestige among the Moroccans. In 1940, he says, the country Moors saw France defeated, and remained loyal. In 1941, the sophisticated young city-dwellers admired Hitler for his strength and his stand against the Jews. In 1942, the Nationalist propaganda spread from Fez into the countryside, battenning on economic distress. After the Americans landed, the economic situation improved but the black-market grew. In 1943 began the Communist campaign which produced a brittle situation with the workers demanding Christian wages, and the upper class hard to handle. In 1944 disaffection increased, the country people began to learn about the Istiqlal. The Nationalists, now consolidated, began to work underground, keeping in close touch

with Egypt. They continued to talk about the Atlantic Charter, the Berber Dahirs, the sacrifice of Moroccan troops in World War II, and their hopes for intervention by the United Nations or the Arab League. Meanwhile in Egypt, the followers of Azzam Pasha directed propaganda toward the independence of their fellow Moslems in Tunisia and Morocco. In 1945, the Istiqlal shifted its style of organization and expanded to include chapters in every town.

In a postscript, the author adds details of the Sultan's visit to Tangier in the spring of 1947, during which His Majesty defied the resident-general, M. Erick Labonne, by declaring himself in favor of Moroccan unity and relations with the Arab League. M. Taillard views with alarm the Sultan's sympathy for the Nationalists, and with even greater alarm His Majesty's action in naming his eldest son as heir, in defiance of the orthodox tradition of succession by election. No longer can the French select the son who promises to be the most malleable.

The conclusion contains constructive, if tardy, suggestions for reform: (1) put into effect the actions which France is supposed to have taken as protecting power, without worrying about what Moroccans think; (2) reply to the accusations of the Nationalists instead of stifling them; (3) take immediate steps to ameliorate the condition of the working people by raising wages and the standard of living; (4) provide more vocational schools like the one for veterans recently opened near Port Lyautey; and (5) develop a strong Moslem policy.

The book represents the sincere attempt of a wise and much-traveled Frenchman to understand why France's stock has fallen in Morocco, and to prescribe a cure. He has quoted the opposition at length, and put his finger on many of the weak spots in his country's behavior. For the most part, he has been reasonably objective, but here and there he has descended to abusive language, as in his castigation of the dignitary Mulay el-'Arbi el-'Alawi and his heated treatment of the bloody events of January 1944. To a reviewer whose best language is not French, the author's style seems at times journalistic and slangy; one soon tires of the constant

repetition of the adverb "sciemment" as an all-purpose intensifier.

CARLETON S. COON  
University Museum  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*I Never Saw an Arab Like Him*, by James A. Maxwell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. 207 pages. \$2.50.

Like the other remnants of the Italian colonial empire in Africa, Tripolitania remains a pawn in the East-West "cold war" while its fate is considered by investigating commissions and negotiators for the Big Four. Yet, notwithstanding international interest in the area, information regarding social, political, and economic conditions continues sparse. For this reason, James Maxwell's *I Never Saw an Arab Like Him*, despite its fictional framework, is welcome.

Nearly all of the thirteen short stories that make up this little volume contain intelligent observations of life in British-ruled Tripolitania. Not all the episodes are equally rewarding from the point of view of shedding light on conditions within the country, and no attempt is made at penetrating analysis of basic problems sometimes only alluded to, but there is merit in the author's method of delineating certain of them through the actions and reactions of his characters. Thus, the story "Police Duty," dealing with the painful exaction of a confession from an Arab, draws attention to the extreme ignorance of much of the population, and demonstrates the difficulties encountered in trying to apply Western concepts of law and justice to people of another culture. The precarious position of the Jewish population, an island in a sea of mounting Arab nationalism and anti-Zionism, the frustrated feeling of the Arab nationalists themselves, the transient influence of American troops, the relationship between the Italian population and the Italian Motherland are neatly pointed up in other stories.

The presence, among the nearly 700,000 Arabs and Arabized Berbers; of some 30,000 Jews, many of whom belong to very ancient settlements; and of some 40,000 Italians, who came to the country largely during the hey-

day of Mussolini's Fascist regime, make Tripolitania today a country of complicated social patterns and tense relationships — the more so because of its uncertain political future and British military rule since Rommel's expulsion late in 1942.

These stories, six of which first appeared in the *New Yorker*, are deftly constructed and make entertaining as well as edifying reading. The author has succeeded in capturing the mood of the country, from the charged political and social atmosphere to the oppressive sand-laden *gibleh*, Tripolitania's version of the sirocco.

BENJAMIN RIVLIN  
Cambridge, Mass.

## ISLAM

*The Religion of Islam*, by Ahmad A. Galwash. New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1947. 216 pages. \$1.50.

The author bases his approach to the religion of Islam on the premise that it has been misunderstood and misrepresented by outsiders, especially Christians, since its formulation. The book, therefore, discusses controverted points, and attempts to place the faith in its deserving light.

Mr. Galwash makes a most interesting story of the background and life of Mohammed. That his followers should have the reputation of being warlike is made understandable in the light of the strife among Arab clansmen. It was for sheer survival, says the author, that Mohammedans waged war. The prophet himself was a peace-loving man and succeeded where others failed in uniting, within his own lifetime, disparate social groups. He was kind to his enemies and to his slaves, who were raised to the level of companionship; he was also generous and tolerant toward other faiths wherever they did not block the promulgation of his own. He was an illiterate man; nevertheless, he wrote the inspired Word of God for his own and all people. He was the dictator of whole clans but tempered his power, refused riches, and lived a simple life as the servant of his

people. Fanatical in his belief in the oneness of God and in his opposition to polytheism and idol and image worship, he taught a quality of morals fit for any society and comparable with the best ideals of the world's greatest religious teachers. He tried to work harmoniously with those of the Jewish faith but found them untrustworthy. Christians were not what they professed to be, and the religion of Jesus, however exalted, was too idealistic for man's own nature. Mohammed, concludes the author, was superior in his realism. He married nine wives and possessed two concubines, but Mr. Galwash believes this should be understood in terms of common practice. Polygamy, he explains in a somewhat lengthy passage, has much to justify it and must not be discarded if it is found to be conducive to social happiness. Christians who condemn it do not condemn David with his six wives and numerous concubines, nor Solomon with his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines.

The author makes the point that no real effort to understand Islam has been made by non-Moslems until recently. He gives credit to Thomas Carlyle for being a pioneer in this regard, but gives scant attention to all that has been written in recent years by scholars fully aware of the prophet's high qualities.

All in all, *The Religion of Islam* is excellently presented, however, and serves the good purpose for which it was intended. One is reminded of the fact that a prophet's religion must always be distinguished from that of those who follow with their own more circumscribed interpretations and practices.

VERGIILIUS FERM

The College of Wooster  
Wooster, Ohio

*Qur'anic Laws*. Compiled by Muhammad Valibhai Merchant. Lahore: Ashraf, 1947. vi + 232 pages. Rs. 5.

Mr. Merchant has compiled and presented in handbook form under the following ten headings the main principles of the Koran governing the beliefs and behavior of Moslems: (1) Doctrine of the Unity of God; (2) Prayers and Alms; (3) Fasts; (4) Hajj (Pilgrimage); (5) Food, Drink, and Games;

(6) Marriage; (7) Divorce; (8) Inheritance; (9) Usury; (10) Pardah (the seclusion and veiling of women). Under each topic he has given full Koranic references in the English of Rodwell's translation and a brief informal prologue dealing with the acknowledgment and practice of the dogma. In some cases, he has contrasted Koranic law with pre-Islamic custom.

It should be stated at the outset that though the Koran is recognized as the basic source of Islamic practice, other sources, particularly the Hadith, or traditional teachings of Mohammed, are also important in increasing the scope of the law and in elaborating its interpretation. We cannot, therefore, obtain a comprehensive conception of Islamic dogma unless we understand at least the main arguments concerning practice, and the various interpretations of verses, words, letters, and phrases of the Koran giving rise to them. In this regard, Mr. Merchant's prologues are not adequate, for in most cases he presents only one point of view. In particular, marriage, divorce, and inheritance need more discussion as they are the subject of a great deal of controversy among the different Moslem sects.

Mr. Merchant states, for example, that the right of divorce is confined to the husband. This is true in theory and in common practice, but a Moslem woman can obtain the right if she insists on its inclusion in the wedding ceremony. There are, of course, many reasons for divorce, and it is difficult to include the variations among different sects in a summary as brief as Mr. Merchant's.

The dogma of usury raises an issue of current importance on which the compiler might have commented. *Ruba*, or the lending of money on interest, is recognized as contrary to Islam and a violation of Koranic law. This principle has become something of an issue for the government of Saudi Arabia. Is it possible, under the Koran, to establish banks? If so, on what basis should they be established? A number of precedents would have to be overridden were legal recognition to be given them.

*Qur'anic Laws* is thus not comprehensive enough for the serious student, but it does reveal in simple form the main Koranic

rules of belief and behavior followed by Moslems in their civil and religious life.

FUAD MASSA  
Washington, D. C.

*Economics of Islam*, by Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1947. 191 pages. Rs. 4.

*Anecdotes from Islam*, ed. by Ebrahim Khan. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1947. xvi + 457 pages. Rs. 8.

These two books were written by devoted Moslems who are apparently unable to differentiate between an idealized abstraction and the reality that was or is Islam today. Consequently they contribute little to our understanding of past or present Islam.

*Economics of Islam* is an attempt to expand Koranic references to banking, interest, trade, and taxes into a structure of economic and financial theory that the author would like to see used as a guide by the rulers of Pakistan and possibly other Islamic territories. Capitalism, communism, and fascism are analyzed and condemned, the first because of the "deadly" role played by interest (on financial loans) in creating crises and chaos, the last two because they crush personal liberty and create insecurity. In logical, clear prose (barring certain typographical and grammatical errors), Shaikh Ahmad explains how the basic "Islamic economic principles" should be applied to build in Pakistan (and India) a progressive democracy rooted in social justice. His argument might be convincing if one could forget that these principles characterized Islam from its inception, and that for a few years the early caliphs seriously, if fruitlessly, tried to implement them. Thirteen hundred years of failure, nowhere alluded to in the book, do not necessarily argue for their theoretical unsoundness, but they do make it seem unlikely that Pakistani politicians and bankers will abandon Western economic practices.

The reviewer is frank to confess that his disappointment in *Anecdotes from Islam* was due wholly to his having approached it with the eager, if ignoble, hope that it would be a convenient source of *bon mots* with which to enliven a classroom or public lecture. In-

stead, he found 400 pages of brief, humorless messages dedicated to spiritual uplift, and selected with a view to displaying only the tolerance, heroism, hospitality, or humanitarianism of this or that famous Moslem. The volume failed to present a single anecdote illuminating the equally characteristic wit, rakishness, love of riotous living, and lesser virtues and vices.

Like its companion, this volume is essentially the preachment of a sincere Moslem who sees in the practical application of certain Islamic ideas and ideals a remedy for the disorders of the world today.

SIDNEY GLAZER  
New York City

## GENERAL

*Foundations in the Dust*, by Seton Lloyd. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948. xii + 237 pages. \$4.50.

*Foundations in the Dust* is the latest volume on Mesopotamian archaeology by Seton Lloyd, author of *Twin Rivers: A Brief History of Iraq from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, *Ruined Cities of Iraq*, and *Mesopotamia: Excavation on Sumerian Sites*. In the position he has long held as Technical Adviser to the Iraq Department of Antiquities, Lloyd has been particularly well situated to record and interpret the past of Mesopotamia, and to evaluate the contributions of those who have explored and unearthed its antiquities.

The methods and practices of archaeological exploration and excavation in Mesopotamia have notably improved, particularly since Gertrude Bell's creation after World War I of an Antiquity Service for Iraq, and her establishment of the foundations of the great National Museum in Baghdad. It is indeed, as Lloyd puts it in the closing sentence of his book, due to her clear vision that the "tradition of Mesopotamian research owes its perpetuation in a new form." This reviewer would like to add here his own mite of tribute to the memory of this great Englishwoman who has contributed so much to the study of the ancient past. Part of his own interest in the annals of antiquity and



in the attempt to perceive some of the essentials of its lasting significance stems from her fascinating publications.

To celebrate the centenary of Henry Layard's first trenches cut into the mound at Nimrud in 1845, Seton Lloyd determined to write an account dealing mainly with the exceedingly important role played by Englishmen in filling in some of the many blank spaces of our knowledge concerning the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, and in establishing some of the main facts of the development of the various civilizations that flourished there. The book underlines, as Sir Leonard Wooley puts it in his Introduction, "an epoch in the long story of the cultural relations between Great Britain and Iraq."

Lloyd bases his presentation around the careers and accomplishments of Claudius James Rich, James Silk Buckingham, Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Austen Henry Layard, Hormuzd Rassam, Gertrude Bell, Leonard Wooley, and others, and employs the excellent device of frequently culling passages from their own journals, reports, and letters. Such documents demonstrate the fortitude of the intellectually curious and adventurous, for they reveal that the searchers found sufficient compensation for the rigors they experienced in the lure and excitement of discovery, and in their ability to widen and deepen the areas of knowledge and lengthen the boundaries of civilized history.

It is fitting, therefore, that important archaeological discoveries are dealt with in connection with the personalities and positions of the discoverers. Rawlinson's pioneer deciphering of the Behistun inscriptions is an example of work the value of which can hardly be overemphasized. Rawlinson could not have been aware of George Friedrich Grotefend's earlier readings of Karsten Niebuhr's copies of them, which had been refused publication by Grotefend's ignorant or vicious German colleagues. He could with great justice, therefore, claim to be the "Father of Cuneiform." It is noteworthy in this connection, that over a century after Rawlinson obtained squeezes of the Behistun inscriptions and discovered a key to their decipherment, the 1948-9 Annual Professor

of the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad, Dr. G. G. Cameron of the University of Chicago, proposes to make his chief project during the year the recopying of the Behistun inscriptions.

It is pleasant to learn that Layard's two-volume publication in 1849 on *Nineveh and Its Remains* attained instant popularity, he himself mentioning in a letter that 8,000 copies had been sold in a year, "which will place it side by side with Mrs. Rundell's *Cookery*."

Not the least of the contributions of these men of whom Lloyd speaks is their gradual evolution of scientific standards and methodology in exploration and archaeology. It is the direct result of their successes and failures that it has become standard practice to excavate an artificial mound with meticulous regard to scientific exactitude.

Much has been accomplished also, particularly in Mesopotamia and Egypt, in training citizens of these lands in the discipline and art of exploration and excavation, and in enabling them not only to assist but also to undertake independent projects. The record of Iraq in this respect, as Lloyd points out, is very promising. It is to be hoped that the deepening consciousness of regional history and attachment to the past, which archaeological discoveries have helped some of the nascent nationalisms of the Near East to acquire, will be tempered with the sense of humility and evanescence which the understanding of history should arouse.

There are, to be sure, others besides Englishmen who figure in the pages of Lloyd's book. The work of Paul Emile Botta has been dealt with extensively in connection with Layard's discoveries. The excavations of Ernest de Sarzec at Telloh are high-lighted also. Besides uncovering invaluable Sumerian texts, they resulted in the discovery of masterpieces of archaic Sumerian sculpture not only of great antiquarian interest but of impressive artistic importance, as illustrated in the portrait statues of Gudea, the seventh and most famous governor of Lagash. There is, furthermore, brief mention of the outstanding work of German scholars, such as R. Koldewey at Babylon and Walter Andrae at Ashur; and the briefest

reference to American excavations by John P. Peters, Herman V. Hilprecht, and, more recently, P. Delougaz.

There is passing reference to the excavation of Tell Billah by American archaeologist, but one looks in vain for the names, for instance, of Edward Chiera and Ephraim A. Speiser, whose excavations and publications have been of primary importance. It is not the intention of the reviewer to cavil at omissions but to point out the limitations of this interesting and informative volume. An attached map of ancient sites in Iraq, a graphic map on the inside covers, a bibliography of the publications referred to in the text, and a useful index add to its interest.

NELSON GLUECK  
Hebrew Union College  
Cincinnati, Ohio

*The Background of Islam: Being a Sketch of Arabian History in Pre-Islamic Times*, by H. St. John B. Philby. Alexandria, Egypt: Whitehead Morris, 1947. 152 pages. £E1.

The title of Philby's book might lead one to expect something other than its actual contents. Introductory paragraphs deal with the Semites who conjecturally migrated from South Arabia to Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, and with the Arabs in the northern marches — the Sealand, Midian, and northern Saba; the body of the book is a history of southern Arabia from late second millennium B.C. to the time of Mohammed. Any relationship between the factual summary and the movement to which it was "background," beyond the broad elements of geography and time, is left largely to the reader's discernment.

*The Background of Islam* is an attempt to bring the obscure past of southern Arabia into sharper focus. No one will question that this portion of the historical world deserves more attention than it has hitherto had. Yet when Philby states that "the contribution of the people of Southern Arabia to human culture can scarcely be exaggerated," he would seem to go too far, in his enthusiasm, beyond his own earlier opinion set forth in the book *Arabia*, published in 1930: "... for 1500 years or so before . . . [the

bursting of the dam of Marib], Arabia played a remarkable if not outstanding part in the political, intellectual and economic life of the civilised world as it then was."

Philby's hypotheses on unsolved points of history are often strikingly at variance with older views. That the Semites "sprang from" Arabian earth, that the conflict between sun- and moon-god worship produced monotheism, that South Arabic is probably the oldest alphabetic script in the world are noteworthy speculations. Somewhat startling is the suggested identification of Damqi-ilishu, a Sealand king of the 19th century B.C., with Abraham, on the basis of a similarity Philby sees between Dougherty's rendering of Damqi-ilishu as "His God is friendly" or "His God is gracious" and Biblical reference to Abraham as "the friend of God."

The particular value of this book is in the composite picture it contains of all the peoples of ancient South Arabia — the Minaeans, Sabaeans, Qatabanians, Ausanians, Himyarites, and various tribes and tribal confederations. In preparing the manuscript, Philby read approximately 6,000 inscriptions. Digestion of this material was, in the nature of things, a grinding process, as the following sentence indicates: "It is indeed just possible that this M'ad-Karib Raidan, son of Hautar-'Atht, reigned before Yadhmar-malik instead of after his second son; and in this case he may have been his father or uncle."

The reader may be thankful that Philby's prose style relieves the tediousness of piecing together fragmentary historical evidence.

C. N. BROWN  
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

*Persian Art and Design Influences from the Near and Middle East*. New York: Studio Publications, 1948. 40 pages. 8 color plates. \$2.00.

This picture-book with text offers the American public examples of both Islamic art and American textile designs influenced by it. The immediate inspiration for its publication was the exhibition of January-April 1948 at the Metropolitan Museum of

Art, arranged by its Department of Near Eastern Art and its Costume Institute. This fact is not stated on the title page, but is found in small print at the bottom of page 28. In large print at the top of page 1 appears the name of A. U. Pope, Chancellor of the Asia Institute, over a few remarks on Persian art. The name of the compiler or editor is nowhere given; however, in the booklist *Studio Books* (Spring 1948), it is stated that the editor is William C. Segal. Another acknowledgement is to Thomas Forman for selecting the Persian poetry. It is not stated whether he also selected the two examples of Arabic poetry and prose.

There are a few misprints, incorrect transliterations, and other errors, of which the most amusing is "Velvet cover of Shah" (page 8), for which read "Shah Abbas period." On page 7, D. J. Irani, "The divine songs of Zarathushtra" becomes J. D. Irani, "The divine songs of Zarathushton," while the *Zendavesta* is transmogrified into the *Zendavcota*; the illustration on page 14, bottom left, is incorrectly called Persian ceramic, while on page 20, top, it is properly labelled "Syrian dish, lustre;" on page 16 occurs the phrase "the rugs we walk in."

Errors of fact and of understanding are more serious: on page 13 a Rakka bowl is called Turkish; on page 14, top right, the "linen" is actually *mulham*, silk warp, cotton weft; on page 18 is the extraordinary statement, "Egyptian fabrics travelled to Spain — Indian textiles to Egypt — with Iran as the pivotal center." Also on page 18 we read that the two sources of Islamic art are the Coptic and the Sasanian. Actually, the two main sources are Hellenistic art, extending from the Mediterranean to Central Asia; and ancient Oriental art, chiefly Mesopotamian. Indeed, one Sasanian motif, the bird with a jewel in its beak, is of Indian origin. On page 20 is the familiar cliché that the Koran forbade figural representation, but that the Moslems could never suppress it in Persia. In practice, Moslem artists paid no attention to the theologians, and human as well as animal figures are found right from the beginning, as in the Umayyad paintings in Syria before 750 A.D.

A fundamental fallacy underlies this book-

let; namely, the emphasis on Persia. Indeed, to talk about Persian art has become a fashion and a fad within the last twenty years. It is rather the civilization of Islam which produced the beautiful objects illustrated here, whether from India, or Morocco, or Persia, or Egypt; the title of the booklet should have been *Islamic Art and American Textile Design*.

The American designers, unconcerned with problems of art history, have produced some fresh, lively designs. Though the elements of their inspiration can be recognized, the results are both modern and Western, partly because most of the designers made printed rather than woven patterns, while the distinction of Islamic textiles is in the weaving. All in all, the booklet is more successful in presenting contemporary design than it is in explaining Islamic art.

FLORENCE E. DAY

Textile Museum of the  
District of Columbia

## BOOKS ALSO NOTED

### General

*Early Indus Civilizations*, by Ernest Mackay. Second edition, revised and enlarged by Dorothy Mackay. London: Luzac, 1948. 169 pages, charts, illustrations. 17s. 6d. The findings at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, and Chanhu-daro are described and a rather careful summary is made of knowledge so far acquired concerning the Harappa civilization.

*Al Fakhri*, by Ibn at-Tiqtaqa. Translated by C. E. J. Whitting. London: Luzac, 1947. 326 pages. 15s. Smooth translation from the Derenbourg and Cairo 1921 editions; both the first section on statecraft and the characteristics of a ruler, and the second section giving the history of the various dynasties from 11-656 A. H. are full of anecdotes, epigrams, and verses.

*Hate, Hope and High Explosives: A Report on the Middle East*, by George Fielding Eliot. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948. 274 pages. \$2.75. The sometimes enlightening comments of this experienced military analyst who took a two-month spring trip through most of the Middle East except the Arabian Peninsula.

*Lord Wavell (1883-1941)*, by Major-General R. J. Collins. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948. 488 pages, illustrations. 30s. A military biography, it includes an historical account of nine campaigns in which Lord Wavell was engaged in the Middle East.

*The Mediterranean*, by André Seigfried. Translated by Doris Hemming. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1948. 221 pages. \$3.00. Written during the war, it is discursive but emphasizes geography and economics. Conveys quite clearly the unique and independent spirit of the Mediterranean peoples.

*The Mediterranean: Its Role in America's Foreign Policy*, by William Reitzel. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948. 195 pages. \$2.75. (To be reviewed.)

*The Middle East*. London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1948. 377 pages. £2 10s. A volume of concise political, economic, and cultural information on 13 countries and the League of Arab States, it contains illustrations, maps, a Who's Who of leading personalities, descriptions of governments, communications, presses, places of interest, educational systems, and economic conditions; also includes brief histories and bibliographies. Useful but spotty, especially in its Who's Who.

*Review of Middle East Oil*. (*Petroleum Times*, June 1948.) London: Brettenham House. 115 pages. \$1.50. A comprehensive, illustrated review of all aspects of current developments based on a recent extended tour by Dr. C. T. Barber, Joint Editor of *Petroleum Times*. Also contributions by G. M. Lees, Max Thornburg, Christopher Holme, and T. D. Weatherhead.

*State and Economics in the Middle East: A Society in Transition*, by Alfred Bonn . London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1948. xiv + 427 pages. £1 10s. Turn of the century to the present, with considerable attention given the sociology of Islamic society and the changes that occurred between World Wars I and II. Four parts: evolution of the state; agrarian society; industrial revolution; changes in the social structure.

#### Arab States

*'Al  B b Zuwaylah (At the Zuwaylah Gate)*, by Muhammad Sa' d al-'Ury n. Cairo: D r al-K tib al-Misr , 1947. 239 pages. A prize-winning historical novel by a young Egyptian, dealing with the end of the period of the Mameluk Sultans.

*The Arab of the Desert*, by H. R. P. Dickson. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948. Illustrated by Mrs. Dickson. 42s. Intimate and detailed account of the Bedouin. The author has lived in Kuwait many years.

*Britain and the Arab States: A Survey of Anglo-Arab Relations, 1920-1948*, by M. V. Seton-Williams. London: Luzac, 1948. 330 pages, with maps, bibliography, and index. 21s.

*Cultural Survey of Modern Egypt, Part II*, by M. M. Mosharafa. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1948. 71 pages. 5s. (To be reviewed.)

*Plan de Reconstruction de l' conomie Libanaise et de Reforme de l' tat*, by Gabriel Menassa, with collaboration of M. Joseph Naggear and members of the Comit  d' tudes Techniques of S. L. E. P. Beirut:  ditions de la Soci t  Libanaise d' conomie Politique, 1948. 634 pages. A thorough study abounding in statistics, documents, and concrete proposals for improving Lebanon's difficult economic position; also contains suggestions for constitutional reform.

*A Prince of Arabia: The Emir Shereef Ali Haider*, by George Stitt. London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan, 1948. 314 pages, map, photographs. £1 1s (\$4.50). Princess Fatma, the Emir's wife, gave the author a translation of his diary as background for this biography, from which can be gleaned interesting supplementary material for a study of Arab nationalism and the circumstances surrounding the revolt in the desert of 1916.

*The Story of the Arab Legion*, by J. Bagot Glubb. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948. 7 maps, illustrations. 25s.

#### Cyprus

*A History of Cyprus*, Volumes II and III: The Frankish Period, by Sir George Hill. New York: Cambridge University Press; Macmillan, 1948. 1198 pages, illustrations, map. \$23.50. The culmination of 30 years' work on Cyprus; heavily documented and indexed for detailed reference.

*The Island of Cyprus*, edited by L. and H. A. Mangoian. Nicosia, Cyprus: Mangoian, 1947. 245 pages. 12s. 6d.

#### Ethiopia

*Government of Ethiopia*, by Margery Perham. London: Faber, 1948. xxiii + 481 pages, 3 maps, bibliography. 30s. Serious comparative study of the main aspects of the Ethiopian state at



present, just prior to the Italian invasion, and in the more distant past.

### India

*The British in Asia*, by Guy Wint. London: Faber, 1947. 224 pages. 12s. 6d. An analysis of the situation created by Great Britain's withdrawal.

*Frontier Speaks*, by Mohammad Yunus. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1947. 204 pages. Rs. 4/8. The author is a Pathan favorable to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's approach.

*Gandhi Lives*, by Marc Edmund Jones. Philadelphia: David McKay Co., 1948. 184 pages. \$3.00. Popular, illustrated biography which includes an analysis of Gandhi's religious ideas.

*Gandhi's Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, by M. K. Gandhi. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1948. 640 pages. \$5.00. A revised edition of the 1941 translation from Gujarati by Mahadev Desai, this is the first complete text published outside of India and contains a multitude of interesting details.

*Indian Art*. Essays by H. G. Rawlinson, K. deB. Codrington, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and John Irwin. Edited by Sir Richard Winstedt. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. 194 pages, illustrations. \$3.75.

*Indian Flamingo*, by Charles Fabri. London: Victor Gollancz, 1947. 8s. 6d. A novel about East-West cultural tension in pre-independence Lahore.

*My Indian Years: 1910-1916*, by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst. London: John Murray, 1948. 150 pages. 10s. 6d. An account of his Indian Viceroyalty.

*Nehru of India*, by Cornelia Spencer. New York: John Day Company, 1948. 184 pages, photographs. \$2.50. A biography of Nehru written especially for American young people, emphasizing the Indian leader's personality rather than political detail.

*Population and Food Planning in India*, by Baljit Singh. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1947. 156 pages. Rs. 4. Treats the whole of India before partition and presents a case for wide government intervention and control to bring Indian food production and nutrition standards to an adequate level. Charts and tables are included, but the book is not organized for easy reference.

*Unemployment, Full Employment and India*. Re-

vised edition, by Nabagopal Das. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1948. 87 pages. Rs. 2/8. Reasoning from the theories of Beveridge, Keynes, Hansen, and Wallace, the author suggests specific programs for the achievement of full employment and social security in India, most of them involving government planning and expenditures.

### Italian Colonies

*The Question of the Administration of Italian Colonies under Trusteeship*, by G. Vedovato, M. M. Moreno, and G. Mangano. Florence, Italy: Center of Colonial Studies, Florence University, 1947. 107 pages. Contains three reports: "The Politico-Juridical Problem," "The Social Problem," and "The Economic and Agrarian Problem" as well as a useful bibliography of the Center's publications.

### Kurdistan

*Sheep and the Chevrolet: A Journey through Kurdistan*, by François Balsan. London: Elek, 1947. 176 pages.

### Palestine

*Approach to Palestine*, by Robin C. R. Maugham. London: Falcon Press, 1947. 100 pages. 5s.

*British Rule in Palestine* (in Hebrew), by B. Joseph. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1948. 327 pages.

*Destination Palestine: The Story of Haganah Ship Exodus 1947*, by Ruth Gruber. New York: Current Books — A. A. Wyn, 1948. 128 pages, 32 photographs. \$2.50. Graphic description of the unhappy wanderings of the 4,500 refugees, many of them children, who sought to gain entrance into Palestine and became international pawns and symbols.

*Fifty Years in Palestine*, by Frances Newton. London: Coldharbour Press, 1948. 8s. 6d. An account of the author's life in Palestine from 1889, and a statement of the Arab case. Miss Newton was excluded from Palestine in 1938, but the order was rescinded in 1943.

*Galut*, by Yitzhak F. Baer. New York: Schocken Library, 1947. 123 pages. \$1.50. Historical essay with Jewish exile as its central theme.

*Geology and Water Resources of Palestine*, by G. S. Blake and M. J. Goldschmidt. Jerusalem: Department of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, 1947. 428 pages, illustrations. £P 2. Detailed technical survey.

*History of Zionism until the Death of Herzl* (in Yiddish), by J. Zineman. Paris: Zineman, 1947. 598 pages.

*In the Heart of the Seas*, by S. Y. Agnon. Translated by I. M. Lask. New York: Schocken Library, 1948. 128 pages. \$1.50. A short novel by a prominent Hebrew writer describing the pilgrimage to Palestine of some early 19th century Polish Jews.

*Jews in Palestine* (in Yiddish), by A. Revusky. New York: Sharon Books, 1947. 456 pages, map, bibliography.

*Palestine: Carrefour Brûlant*, by M. Picard. Paris: P. Dupont, 1947. 227 pages, maps.

*Palestine: Land of Israel*, by Pierre van Paassen and Herbert S. Sonnenfeld. New York: Ziff-Davis, 1948. 128 pages, 109 pages of photographs. \$5.00. Striking presentation of the Israeli scene.

*Roads to Zion: Four Centuries of Travelers' Reports*, by Kurt Wilhelm. New York: Schocken Library, 1948. 117 pages. \$1.50. Foreshadows the beginning of the Jewish resettlement of Palestine.

*Under the Fig Tree*, by Yitzhak Shenberg. New York: Schocken Library, 1948. 122 pages. \$1.50. Descriptions of life in modern Palestine.

*We Need Not Fail*, by Sumner Welles. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. 151 pages. \$2.50. (To be reviewed.)

*Winged Dagger: Adventures on Special Service*, by Roy Farran. London: Collins, 1948. 384 pages. Includes in Part IV his version of recent events in Palestine and his trial on a charge of murdering the young Jew, Alexander Rubovitz.

### Turkey

*Costantinopoli e gli Stretti nella politica russa ed europea: Dal Trattato di Üçüik Kainargi alla Convenzione di Montreux*, by Ettore Ancieri.

Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1948. 268 pages, maps. L. 660. A diplomatic history of the Straits from 1774 to the Montreux Convention of 1936.

*Nereye Gidiyoruz? Partiler ve İdiyolojiler karşı-sında Hakikat (Where are we going? The Truth vis à vis Parties and Ideologies)*, by Yaşar Nabi. Istanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1948. 155 pages. An intelligent appraisal of the influence of ideologies in present-day Turkey.

*Turgut Lives in Turkey*, by Nezahet Nurettin Ege. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948. Illustrated by Theresa Kalab. \$1.75. Written for 8-10 year olds, it portrays the daily life of a modern Turkish boy, and gives a good picture of the land and people.

### Religion

*Islam and Christian Theology*, Part I, Volume 2, by J. Windrow Sweetman. London: Lutterworth Press, 1948. vii + 285 pages. 18s. More of the Preparatory Historical Survey of the Early Period; the whole will constitute a study of the interpretation of theological ideas in the two religions.

*Public Finance in Islam*, by S. A. Siddiqi. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1948. 242 pages. Rs. 5. A compilation of fundamental Islamic practices in regard to finance. Though it briefly discusses *zakat* in relation to Adam Smith's theories of taxation and suggests that Islamic finance may be adapted to do the work of modern Western finance, neither point is fully discussed.

*Saadia Gaon: The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*. Translated from Arabic by Samuel Rosenblatt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. xxxii + 496 pages. \$5.00. Volume I in the Yale Judaica Series edited by Julian Obermann, Louis Ginzberg, and Harry Austryn Wolfson.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Near East Section, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Elizabeth Bacon, Richard Ettinghausen, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, C. T. Jones, Herbert J. Liebesny, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, William D. Preston, Horace I. Poleman, C. Rabin, Benjamin Schwartz, and Dorothy Shepherd.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East roughly since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of excellent bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Moslem Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Pakistan, and India. The ancient Near East, Byzantium, Zionism and Palestine<sup>1</sup> are excluded; in the case of India and Pakistan, only material dealing with history and the social sciences since 1600 will normally be considered.<sup>2</sup> An attempt will be made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields, with the exception of those published in the languages of India.

<sup>1</sup> Palestine, Zionism, the Jews of Palestine, etc. are omitted only because of the existence of a current, cumulative bibliography devoted to this field, i.e. *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

<sup>2</sup> Art and archaeology, language and literature, etc. are well covered by the following: Kern Institute. *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* (Leiden).

For list of abbreviations, see page 506.

## GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

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| <p>2062 DOWSON, V. H. W. "A short tour of Southern Arabia, British Somaliland, and the Northern Sudan." <i>Royal Cent. Asian J.</i> 35 (Ap '48) 105-15. A series of short but perceptive descriptions of Aden, Hadhramaut, Salala and the other countries listed in the title.</p> <p>2063 JOSEPH, T. K. "The Malaya mountain." <i>J. Indian Hist.</i> (Trivandrum) 25 (D '47) 263-8. Identifies the Kula Parvata Malaya in Puranic and other early Sanskrit literature with the Nilgiri Hills.</p> <p>2064 LAFUENTE, DOMENECH. "Del Mar-ruecos Presahariano." <i>Africa</i> (Madrid) 5</p> | <p>(Ja '48) 2-6. Review of physical geography of southwestern Morocco taken from French sources and an account of ethnography apparently from author's own sources.</p> <p>2065 LONG, AIR COMMODORE F. W. "A recent trip to Hunza-Nagir." <i>Royal Cent. Asian J.</i> 35 (Ap '48) 161-7. An account of a brief trip from Gilgit to Hunza and Nagir in the high Pamirs, with a brief concluding statement concerning the political position of these countries in relation to the partition of India.</p> <p>2066 MINORSKY, V. "Gardizi on India." <i>Bull. School of Orient. Stud.</i> 12/3-4 ('48) 625-40. Translation of extract from Gardizi's (about 430 A.H.) <i>Zayn al-akhbar</i>, an account of Indian "sects" and their customs.</p> <p>2067 PECK, E. H. "Mountain climbing in South Turkey." <i>Royal Cent. Asian J.</i> 35 (Ap '48)</p> |
|---|--|

- 176-8. A brief account of the ascension of several peaks in the Ala Dağ massif of the Taurus range. Map.
- 2068 RAYCHAUDHURI, S. P. and MUKHERJEE, S. K. "Present position of soil survey in India." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 6B (O '47) 405-8. Describes available maps and printed information and what needs to be done. Features latest soil map of India.
- 2069 SALIM, ALI. "The Gujarat satpuras in Indian ornitho-geography." *Gujarat Res. Soc. J.* (Bombay) 10 (Ja '48) 35-45. Confirmatory evidence from the standpoint of bird-life distribution of the one time geographical connection of South India and Ceylon.
- 2070 SCHOMBERG, R. C. F. "North Karakoram: a journey in the Muztagh-Shaksgam area." *Geog. J.* (London) 109 (Jl '47) 94-8. A dull account of a trip through this remote and unknown area of Central Asia.
- 2071 SEN, PRABODH CHANDRA. "Geography of ancient Bengal, II." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* (Santinikatur) 13 (Ja '48) 243-8. Denies the commonly accepted identification of Harikela with Vanga, and asserts, instead, that the name must be equated with modern Chittagong.
- See also: 2196.
- favor upon the Zionists and a partitioned Palestine.
- 2077 "The revolt of Asia." *Indian Readers' Digest* (Bombay) 10 (Ja '48) 16-21. To an extent unbelievable in the West, leaders of the "Asian revolt" remain the scholars, the priests, and the wise. The fundamental tenets are those of the American revolution, and orientation will be on an India-Indonesian axis.
- 2078 AGLIETTI, BRUNO. "L'azione dell'Italia per la soppressione della schiavitù in Somalia." *Africa* (Rome) 3 (Je '48) 151-3. The Italian slavery record in Italian Somaliland. With legal references.
- 2079 BARNS, CHARLES. "Recent developments in Indian opinion." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja '48) 41-55. The author, who went to India in 1937 to help organize an Indian broadcasting service, traces the more significant developments of opinion during the past decade.
- 2080 BARTON, SIR WILLIAM. "The fate of the princes." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Je '48) 42-3. Before treaties are concluded with India and Pakistan, the British Government should try to ensure reasonable treatment of the more important Indian States.
- 2081 BEE, JOHN M. "Background to Iraqi treaty fate." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Ap '48) 36. Party rivalry, the Palestine question, and economic discontent are the chief causes of the violent reaction to the Portsmouth Treaty.
- 2082 BEE, JOHN M. "Middle East faces communist menace." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 33-4. The countries of the Middle East have generally been so engrossed in domestic affairs that they have failed to take cognizance of the danger.
- 2083 BENTWICH, NORMAN. "Aden after the riots." *Commentary* (New York) 5 (My '48) 449-51. A factual report on the aftermath of the violent events of December 2, 1947, containing an interesting description of the camp of Yemenite Jews (awaiting visas to Palestine) where the surviving Aden Jews have been "housed."
- 2084 COHN, DAVID. "Can Israel help the Arabs?" *Atlantic Monthly* 182 (Ag '48) 34-5. Israeli skills in agriculture, land reclamation, social welfare, medicine, and education could, if their use were permitted, do much to raise the standard of living of the Arabs.
- 2085 CROSSMAN, RICHARD H. S. "The role Britain hopes to play." *Commentary* (New York) 5 (Jl '48) 493-7. British self-interest may yet dictate a shift in policy toward the Zionists if they do not prejudice the situation by attempting prestige victories, e. g. the capture of Jerusalem. This is due to the fact that Cyrenaica is infinitely inferior to Palestine as a military base.

## HISTORY AND POLITICS

### (Ancient, medieval, modern)

- 2072 "The Central Asia Republics." *World Today* 4 (My '48) 197-208. A detailed propaganda-free study of the political, cultural, and economic conditions of these five republics that play such an important role in the Soviet system.
- 2073 "India." *Round Table* (London) No. 151 (Je '48) 690-5. The present Indian administration must be exceedingly virile to be able to cope with a major refugee problem, run a sizable war in Kashmir, withstand communal stresses and subversive communist activities, etc.
- 2074 "Invasion of Kashmir." *Trend* (Bombay) 3 (D '47) 1-5. An account of events in Kashmir. Its invasion has resulted in the first popular government the region has ever had.
- 2075 "Pakistan." *Round Table* (London) No. 151 (Je '48) 696-9. "There is evidently on the Indian side a growing appreciation of the fact that Pakistan is a neighbor to be treated with respect."
- 2076 "Palestine in Asia." *Round Table* (London) No. 151 (Je '48) 643-8. Palestine, viewed from the Asian perspective, must become binational. Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and China look with dis-



- 2086 DE LEONE, ENRICO. "Eritrea d'oggi." *Idea* (Rome) 4 (Ap '48) 225-8. Some aspects of recent Eritrean history. Italian industrial firms, banks, hospitals mentioned.
- 2087 EDWARDS, A. C. "Constantinople and the Straits: a long view." *Geog. Mag.* (London) 20 (Je '47) 65-73. The historical background.
- 2088 FILESI, TEOBALDO. "Russi in Etiopia." *Africa* (Rome) 3 (Je '48) 155-6. Russian visits and missions to Ethiopia from the 1880's to 1945. The British attitude and present preponderant influence discussed.
- 2089 GORDON, D. H. "Sialk, Giyan, Hissar and the Indo-Iranian connection." *Man in India* (Ranchi) 27 (S '47) 195-241. The Indus valley civilization and Iranian connections.
- 2090 GRIFFITHS, SIR PERCIVAL. "India revisited: the first winter of partition." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ap '48) 140-54. There are four main hopeful factors in the situation and four main unhelpful ones. The author is encouraged by a new dynamic spirit visible everywhere.
- 2091 HASAN, K. SARWAR. "Pakistan and South-East Asia." *Pakistan Horizon* (Karachi) 1 (Mr '48) 51-62. Description of conditions and circumstances of countries of Southeast Asia. Pakistan's strategic and economic interests in the territory.
- 2092 HERRINGTON, M. ELEANOR. "American reaction to recent political events in India." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ap '48) 177-81. Based chiefly on a study of the press.
- 2093 HOWARD, HARRY N. "Germany, the Soviet Union, and Turkey during World War II." *Dept. of State Bull.* 19 (Jl 18 '48) 63-73. Turkey faithfully upheld its obligations as a non-belligerent under the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1939, and its neutrality benefited the Allies.
- 2094 IMAMUDDIN, S. M. "The Tārīkh Khān-i-Jahānī wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī." *Islamic Culture* 22 (Ap '48) 128-42. Discussion of this important history of the Afghans, its two editions, and the life of the author.
- 2095 KHADDURI, MAJID. "The coup d'état of 1936: a study in Iraqi politics." *Middle East J.* 2 (Jl '48) 270-92. A detailed study of the first of a series of military coup d'états, which culminated in the Rashid Ali revolt of 1941. The article "provides insight into the human factors that frequently play an all-important but abstruse role in Arab politics."
- 2096 KIMCHE, JON. "Iraq breaks with Britain." *Nineteenth Century and After* 143 (Je '48) 301-9. The author claims that not even in Palestine did he meet with such universal and violent anti-British sentiments as he did in Iraq six weeks after the Anglo-Iraqi treaty was signed at Portsmouth. [Virtually same article as no. 2097.]
- 2097 KIMCHE, JON. "Troubled Iraq: keystone of the Middle East." *Commentary* (New York) 6 (Jl '48) 41-5. Events since January 1948 have made it clear that the British have lost Iraq. It is still undecided whether America or Russia will succeed Britain as the dominant power in an area where disorder and discontent are deep and widespread.
- 2098 LAMBTON, ANN K. S. "An account of the *Tārīkh-i Qunūn*." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 586-96. From the Persian translation of this 4th century work. Mainly administrative details.
- 2099 MARTIN, LT. GEN. H. G. "The strategic problem in the Middle East." *New English Rev.* (London) 17 (Jl '48) 20-5. A discussion of the role of Africa, which is considered from every point of view to be the king-pin in any defense plan for the area.
- 2100 MARTIN, KINGSLEY. "Muslims and Christians." *Jewish Frontier* 15 (My '48) 28-9. Provocative thoughts on why the British find themselves so much at home in the Moslem world from Egypt to Pakistan.
- 2101 MCKAY, VERNON. "France's future in North Africa." *Middle East J.* 2 (Jl '48) 293-305. The Algerian election of April 1948, generally favorable to the French, gives France an opportunity to work out a constructive compromise with the Moslem nationalists.
- 2102 MUDVEDKAR, V. S. "Zero hour has come." *Indian Readers' Digest* (Bombay) 10 (F '48) 11-3. Calls for an end of appeasement, of "Gandhian generosity," and for open war with Pakistan.
- 2103 ODELL, ERNEST. "Afghanistan." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) No. 988 (Ap '48) 240-4. Some speculation on the reasons why Afghanistan has taken up the cudgels for the Frontier tribesmen.
- 2104 PAPINI, ITALO. "Libia — Tunisia — Algeria — Morocco." *Africa* (Rome) 3 (Ap '48) 109-10. Recent political history of North Africa, largely a review of *L'Afrique française en danger*, by Henry Bénazet (1947).
- 2105 PAPINI, ITALO. "Oneri e vantaggi di un'amministrazione fiduciaria italiana." *Africa* 3 (Mr '48) 69-70. Arguments for Italy's trusteeship over its old colonies.
- 2106 PATMORE, DEREK. "Turkey at the crossroads." *World Rev.* (London) (Je '48) 27-31. Like other nations who have found themselves in this position, Turkey feels acutely uncomfortable.
- 2107 PERRETT, MICHAEL. "Egypt and the Nile flood." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) No. 988 (Ap '48) 244-7. An interesting treatment of this eternal problem that points up Egypt's demand for the unity of the Nile Valley.
- 2108 PHILIPS, C. H. "Clive in the English po-

- litical world, 1761-64." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 695-702. Account of the struggle between Clive and Sullivan for the control of the East India Company.
- 2109 RAHIMTOOLA, HABIB IBRAHIM. "The ideals and prospects of Pakistan." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja '48) 28-40. In spite of the title, a lucid account of the actual organization of the population transfers and the trend of events in the East and West Punjab, by the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London.
- 2110 RIZZITANO, UMBERTO. "Santa Sede ed Egitto." *Idea* (Rome) 4 (Ja '48) 22-7. Reviews a century of cordial relations between the Holy See and Egypt, as diplomatic representatives are exchanged for the first time.
- 2111 SALETTORE, G. N. "Sidelights on the annals of Tarikere." *J. Indian Hist.* (Trivandrum) 25 (D '47) 281-94. Dealings between the chiefs of Tarikere and the East India Company during the year 1832.
- 2112 SIDDIQI, ABDUL MAJEED. "Mir Fadzallah Unjü." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 165-73. Life of the scholar-statesman of the Bahmani period (d. 820 A.H.).
- 2113 SPATE, OSKAR. "The boundary award in the Punjab." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja '48) 1-15. An extremely interesting and objective account of the process of partition by a professional geographer.
- 2114 STRETTELL, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DASHWOOD. "The Indian army before and after 1947." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 35 (Ap '48) 116-30. An authoritative description of the Indian Army: the Indian peoples from which it has been recruited, a history of the army from the 18th century through World War II, and the military problems which confront Pakistan and India. Map.
- 2115 SUNDARLAL. "Mahamood Ghaznavi." *Indian Readers' Digest* (Bombay) 10 (F '48) 23-30. Denies the historicity of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion of Somnath.
- 2116 TRITTON, A. S. "The tribes of Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 567-73. Historical account from A.D. 1000-1496, based mainly on Ibn Khaldün, with a genealogical table.
- 2117 TWEEDY, OWEN. "Anglo-Egyptian relations." *Fortnightly* No. 977 (My '48) 308-14. Suez Canal defense and the control of the Nile are the only issues that should be discussed by Anglo-Egyptian mediators, who must begin by abandoning mistrust and refraining from recriminations.
- 2118 TWYNAM, SIR HENRY. "The two new dominions and treaty relations." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja '48) 15-27. Although impossible at the moment, a treaty of perpetual alliance and friendship between India and Pakistan is the only solution compatible with Indian prosperity and world peace.
- 2119 WELTSCH, ROBERT. "What chance for Arab-Jewish accord?" *Commentary* (New York) 6 (Jl '48) 8-17. A keen analysis of the basic issues that must be resolved. Jerusalem is held to be the key to the whole Palestine problem. Weltsch's solution is to devise some political structure for the whole country whereby Jerusalem would remain a common capital for both Jews and Arabs.
- See also: 2065, 2066, 2071, 2132, 2168, 2183, 2185, 2208, 2209, 2233.

## ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)

- 2120 "All-India industries conference." *Indian Textile J.* (Bombay) 58 (Ja '48) 371-6. Full text of the resolutions passed by the Industries Conference convened by the Government of India at New Delhi, December 15-18, 1947, under the presidency of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji.
- 2121 "British contracts for Turkey." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Ap '48) 36-7. Anglo-Turkish trade during the past year has shown a marked increase in the figures of British commerce and the number of big contracts concluded by British firms.
- 2122 "Ceylon's economic problems." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 43. The island's primary need is more enterprise to provide employment and improve the trade balance.
- 2123 "Development plans for Syria and Lebanon." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Jl '48) 35. An important irrigation scheme, port construction, and industrial projects are among Syria's development plans, and both Syria and Lebanon are actively interested in airport construction. Lebanon is also counting on an increase in tourists.
- 2124 "Economic effects of the division of India." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Ap '48) 48-50. Given peace, the rise of industries in Pakistan and the expansion of industries in India can greatly stimulate production demands and supplies from one dominion to the other.
- 2125 "Food and agriculture." *Eastern Economist* (Special No.) (New Delhi) 10 (Ja '48) 29-33. A review of the situation in India for the year 1947.
- 2126 "India's industrial prospects." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 40-1. Widespread industrial development will take place in the next few years if sufficient capital, equipment and technicians can be obtained.
- 2127 "Industrial and agricultural resources of Pakistan." *Indian Exporter* (Bombay) 2

- (D '47-Ja-'48) 26-7. "Population, area, and other economic facts."
- 2128 "Industrial production." *Eastern Economist* (Special No.) (New Delhi) 10 (Ja '48) 33-5. A review of the year with some statistics.
- 2129 "Kordofan's five-year plan." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Je '48) 40. This large Sudan province has considerable economic possibilities, including cotton. The two greatest needs are water, and education which would eventually produce capable administrators.
- 2130 "Labor in Syria and Lebanon." *Polit. Affairs* (New York) 3 (Je '48) 75-6. A brief sketch of the labor movement, which is becoming increasingly important.
- 2131 "Labour legislation." *Eastern Economist* (Special No.) (New Delhi) 10 (Ja '48) 38-9. Indian legislation for the year 1947. The Industrial Disputes Act.
- 2132 "Meeting communist threat." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Ap '48) 35. Discusses some of the suggestions that will raise the standard of living in the Near East and avert the communist threat.
- 2133 "Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) notification; income-tax." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 41 (Ja '48) 29-34. Full text of the India-Pakistan agreement for the avoidance of double taxation on income.
- 2134 "National Bank of Egypt." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Je '48) 62. Its president, Ali Shamsi Pasha, points out in his address that Egypt remains a fairly prosperous country in spite of its numerous difficulties.
- 2135 "Scheme for rural development." *Madras J. of Co-operation* 39 (F '48) 358-65. Recommends selection of a panchayat village to carry out a co-operative program in all details from taxes to industries.
- 2136 "Story of Calcutta port." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 42. This "triumph of British engineering" which handles 4,000,000 tons of shipping yearly is now under Indian control. Upon its effectiveness depends the survival of the city.
- 2137 "Sudan cement works." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 38. Before the end of the year the Sudan Cement Works, located near Atbara, will be capable of producing 3,000 tons of cement a month and other building products.
- 2138 "Trends in trade." *Eastern Economist* (Special No.) (New Delhi) 10 (Ja '48) 43-50. A careful analysis of Indian imports, exports, foreign exchange, tariff, and the Geneva conference, 1947.
- 2139 "Turkey puts Trabzon on the map." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Je '48). One of the most important projects in Turkey's development plan is the construction of a modern port at Trabzon on the Black Sea.
- 2140 'ATTÄR, AHMAD 'ABD AL-GHAFÜR. "Three hours with H. E. 'Abdallāh al-Sulaymān." (in Arabic) *Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī* 2 (Je '48) 11-7. An informative interview with the Saudi Arabian Minister of Finance giving the Government's accomplishments and projects in the field of public utilities in Mecca, radio broadcasting, agriculture, communications, and general modernization.
- 2141 AUBERT, M. JEAN. "Les idées modernes en matière d'aménagements hydrauliques." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* No. 240 (My '47) 341-5. Many references to Egypt, although the discussion concerns hydraulic installations and problems elsewhere.
- 2142 BAKHLE, K. C. "Explanatory memorandum on railway budget 1948-49." *Indian Railway Gazette* (Calcutta) 61 (Ap '48) 78-97. A detailed presentation, with tables, of revenues, expenditures, and operations. This is a very good guide to an understanding of the Indian railway situation.
- 2143 BEE, JOHN M. "British engineering works in Iraq." *G. Brit. and the East* 65 (Jl '48) 36-7. Events in Palestine have thus far failed to hinder Iraq's development program and British contractors have won most of the contracts for irrigation projects, roads, etc. due to their reputation for skillful work.
- 2144 CROW, DUNCAN. "The economy of Pakistan." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja '48) 72-6. An inventory of its present and potential assets.
- 2145 DA COSTA, ERIC P. W. "The industrial prospect in India." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ap '48) 170-7. A brief treatment of some of the broad factors in the Indian political and economic situation.
- 2146 DESAI, SHAILEN H. "Government and industry in future India." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 41 (My '48) 229-34. Absence of any large-scale nationalization prevents the economic stress which would halt productive activities and result in a police state.
- 2147 GADOLA, ARNALDO. "La pastorizia somala e l'azione svolta dall'Italia (Part I)." *Africa* (Rome) 3 (My '48) 133. Cattle, camel, goat, and sheep production, especially 1936-45, in Italian Somaliland.
- 2148 GADOLA, ARNALDO. "La pastorizia somala e l'azione svolta dall'Italia (Part II)." *Africa* (Rome) 3 (Je '48) 159-60. Cattle production in Italian Somaliland with special attention to the work of the Vaccination Institute at Merca. Bibliographical data.
- 2149 GANDHI, M. P. "Bombay budget — potential contribution from sugar industry." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 41 (Ap '48) 173-6. The loss of tax revenue due to prohibition and heavy social-service expenditures has resulted in a deficit for 1948-9. This can be made up, at least in part, by a hitherto untapped revenue

- source, the levy of a tax on sugar cane consumed by the vacuum-pan sugar factories in Bombay.
- 2150 GORRIE, R. MACLAGAN. "Farm forestry in the Punjab." *Indian Forester* (Dehra Dun) 73 (O '47) 435-7. A pessimistic forecast on the attempt to popularize tree growth among Punjab villagers.
- 2151 EL-GRITLY, A. A. I. "The structure of modern industry in Egypt." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) Nos. 341-2 (N-D '47) 363-582. A Ph.D. thesis submitted to London University, dealing with the history of Egyptian industry, the capital market, banking system, location, monopoly, labor and government aid.
- 2152 JAIN, P. C. "Future prospects of Indian jute industry." *Indian Textile J.* (Bombay) 58 (D '47) 217-9. The sudden decontrolling of the industry and the consequent immediate jump in prices now threaten the entire industry, especially in the export field. All avenues must be explored to reduce prices, particularly of the manufactured product.
- 2153 KAR, P. C. "Alkali industry and its future in India." *Science and Culture* 13 (F '48) 323-8.
- 2154 KRISHNAN, M. S. "Uranium." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 7 (Ja '48) 30-8. Contains survey of Indian deposits.
- 2155 KRISHNIAH, S. "Reorganisation of the co-operative credit movement in Rayalaseema." *Madras J. of Co-operation* 39 (Mr '48) 399-407. Discussion of the proposal of the Rayalaseema Co-operative Enquiry Committee (1945-6) to abolish central banks and convert them into branches of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank.
- 2156 MUDALIAR, A. PALANIAPPA. "Co-operation and teachers." *Madras J. of Co-operation* 39 (Ja '48) 307-14. A congratulatory address reviewing the 25-year existence of the Cuddalore Secondary Schoolmasters' Co-operative Credit Society.
- 2157 NANJEE, PRANLAL DEVKARAN. "A banker looks ahead." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 41 (Ja '48) 17-21. An optimistic forecast of the role of Indian banking in a free India.
- 2158 NASSIF, E. "Le problème des prix en Egypte." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* No. 240 (My '47) 251-98. An analysis of the causes of high prices, with a number of constructive suggestions.
- 2159 PAYMASTER, S. A. "Mica: the king of Indian exports of the day." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 41 (F '48) 65-70. The coming age is the "mica age," and India supplies 80% of the world's demand for this commodity.
- 2160 PINFOLD, E. S. "Petroleum." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 6 (S '47) 375-82. A continuation from the August issue and to be continued. Detailed statement of the petroleum production and position of India and Burma.
- 2161 RAJARATNAM, S. "The role of the Reserve Bank of India: scheme of agricultural credit." *Madras J. of Co-operation* 39 (F '48) 351-7. Complains that the Bank does not help co-operative banks in financing agriculturalists and thereby has failed in one of its chief functions.
- 2162 RAM, ATMA, etc. "Survey of Indian resources of sands and rocks required for the glass industry." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 7 (Ap '48) 163-95. Complete.
- 2163 AL-SHIHABI, ZAYD. "The Syrian monetary problem." (in Arabic) *Al-Kutub* 3 (My '48) 702-10. After reviewing the history of the deleterious effects of the linking of the Syrian pound with the French franc, the author suggests that France redeem its franc coverage of the Syrian pound by the sale of its holdings in Syria. Strict import control and encouragement of exports is urged as a means of correcting Syria's balance of payments.
- 2164 TANNOUS, AFIF I. "The Middle East challenges modern agricultural technology." *Foreign Agriculture* 12 (My '48) 101-5. A résumé of the possibilities for American agricultural assistance to the Middle East under Public Law 402. Emphasizes the need of Middle Eastern countries for improved agricultural techniques and farm machinery.
- 2165 SH[AHATAH], Y[USUF]. "An important interview with H. E. Sheikh Sulayman al-Hamd, Undersecretary of State for Finance in the Saudi Arabian Government." (in Arabic) *Al-'Alam al-'Arabi* 2 (Je '48) 40-1. A breakdown of the current budget (for A. H. 1367) of 214,586,500 riyals with a summary of income and expenditures.
- 2166 SNOW, EDGAR. "Keep an eye on this Indian." *Saturday Evening Post* 221 (Ag '48) 24-5. An interesting analysis of recent attitudes and developments in India, particularly in the field of organized labor, based on an interview with a Bombay councilman.
- 2167 THOMASON, DONALD F. "Economic problems and possibilities in the Middle East." *World Rev.* (London) (Je '48) 36-42. An excellent analysis. Only increased agricultural and industrial production can alleviate the problems. Middle Eastern rulers lack the necessary "experience, political inclination, and financial resources."
- 2168 VENKATARAMA AYYAR, K. R. "Medieval trade craft, and merchant guilds in South India." *J. Indian Hist.* (Trivandrum) 25 (D '47) 269-80. An historical account of the network of native organizations supporting the foreign trade of South India. Especially interesting is the casteless (in



- the main) nature of these organizations.
- 2169 WADIA, D. N. "Petroleum prospects in India." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 7 (My '48) 218-21. A detailed survey based on most recent geological work.
- 2170 WATSON, SIR ALFRED. "Financial problems of India and Pakistan." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (My '48) 39. Both countries anticipate heavy deficits this year which probably will be reduced by borrowing and increased taxation. This will afford only temporary relief, particularly in Pakistan, which can gain equilibrium only by the rapid creation of new industries.
- 2171 WATSON, SIR ALFRED. "Indian industry may crack under state control." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Ap '48) 44. India cannot venture to nationalize its industries because it is not and cannot be made into a self-contained country.
- 2172 WAUGH, SIR ARTHUR. "India and Pakistan: the economic effect of partition." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ap '48) 113-27. Among other things, mass starvation has been brought closer.
- 2173 ZACHARIAS, C. W. B. "Decontrol of food in Madras." *Madras J. of Co-operation* 39 (Ap '48) 447-52. Fears widespread hardship caused by rise of prices and the artificial holding back of stocks by producers and dealers in hopes of still further rises.
- 2174 ZACHARIAS, C. W. B. "The inflationary movement." *Indian Rev.* (Calcutta) 49 (Ap '48) 177-82. Causes and effects in India.
- and the data of distinguished anthropologists.
- 2180 DAWOOD, A. R. "Education for inter-communal harmony." *Teaching* (Bombay) 20 (Mr '48) 69-73. Communal and sectarian schools should throw open their doors to all, irrespective of creed or caste.
- 2181 DUBE, S. C. "The economic life of the Kamars." *Man in India* (Ranchi) 27 (Je '47) 137-69. The Kamars are a small aboriginal group in the Central Provinces. Housing, sources of livelihood, agriculture, trade, food.
- 2182 ELWIN, VERRIER. "The aboriginals of India." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 82 (Ja '48) 15-9. A popular survey covering the main tribes and their characteristics.
- 2183 GROTTANELLI, VINIGI L. "Asiatic influences on Somali culture." *Ethnos* 12 (O-D '47) 153-81. A study of Somali museum specimens, including swords, spears, caps, sandals and musical instruments, with reference to the possible introduction of the types from Arabia, Persia, or Indonesia.
- 2184 HINGORANI, D. K. "Mental health in Indian schools." *Teaching* (Bombay) 20 (Mr '48) 73-8. Mental hygiene in Indian schools a necessity; otherwise, a significant percentage of today's school children will become tomorrow's asylum inmates.
- 2185 LEWIS, B. "Ismā'ili notes." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 557-60. (1) An Ismā'ili oath formula from Mamlūk Egypt. (2) The beginnings of Ismā'ilism in India. These are traced back to the 3rd century A. H.
- 2186 MAJUMDAR, D. N. and KISHEN, K. "Serological status of castes and tribes of cultural Gujarat." *Gujarat Res. Soc. J.* (Bombay) 10 (Ja '48) 3-22. Twenty-two castes and tribes of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch were subjected to random anthropometric and serological examination. With very minor exceptions, blood counts so far indicate no significant differences among these various groups.
- 2187 MANN, HAROLD. "Problem of the Indian village." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Je '48) 44. The problem of the Indian village is the immovable villager who regards the land as a means of livelihood, not a business.
- 2188 MANN, HAROLD. "Village betterment in the new India and Pakistan." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ap '48) 154-70. A depressing picture.
- 2189 MARTINEZ. "La enseñanza Islámica en la zona norte del Protectorado Español de Marruecos." *Africa* (Madrid) 5 (F '48) 63. Account of native education and its methods in Spanish Morocco.
- 2190 MURARI, MOHAN. "The Wardha scheme of education." *Teaching* (Bombay) 20 (Mr '48) 82-8. The Gandhian educational plan, now in operation in several schools for seven years, has passed out of the experimental

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 2175 "The problem of language." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 204-7, 210-3. Discussions of the Urdu-Hindi controversy reflecting the divergent tendencies now developing.
- 2176 BEALE, WILLERT. "Turkey's ten year health plan." *Asiatic Rev.* 44 (Ja. '48) 88-90. The plan has for its objectives: (1) the systematic dispersal of medical supplies and personnel; (2) the extension of preventive medicine.
- 2177 BURADKAR, M. P. "The clan organization of the Gouds." *Man in India* (Ranchi) 27 (Je '48) 127-36. A thorough analysis of a major Indian aboriginal group.
- 2178 CANTERO, BENEITEZ. "La infancia del Yebli." *Abun* (Madrid) 5 (Ja '48) 25-8. Illustrated account of customs of Jebala tribesmen in Spanish Morocco.
- 2179 CHAUDHURI, N. M. "The Dravidian theory." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 13 (Mr '48) 361-6. The history of the theory

- stage. Its chief objectives can be considered achieved and the plan completely successful.
- 2191 PARHI, R. S. "Renascence of library movement in India." *Indian Librarian* (Simla) 2 (Mr '48) 78-84. Essentially a review of S. R. Ranganathan's "Library Development Plan with a Draft Library Bill for the Province of Bombay"; the author urges provincial governments to enact and support library bills of similar nature.
- 2192 SENGUPTA, K. K. "On the indigenous systems of medicine." *Indian Medical J. Supplement* (Madras) 5 (D '47) 72-6. Cites the lost works on the Yunani and Ayurveda systems. Claims that the only useful remains of these systems is their materia medica, and urges that one and only one system of medicine should be taught in India.
- 2193 THAKAR, PURUSHOTTAM. "Relief and rehabilitation of refugees." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (O '47) 37-47. A general outline of how refugee camps in India are operated.
- 2194 TRIMURTI. "Reasons for the backward state of public health in India." *Indian Medical J. Supplement* (Madras) 6 (F '48) 19-22. The chief drawback to public health programs in the past has been lack of co-operation in sanitary measures. Education of the population will certainly improve this condition.

See also: 2066, 2078, 2100, 2200.

### SCIENCE

- 2195 "A home for the National Institute of Sciences in India." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 13 (My '48) 452-5. The reasons for founding and the plans of the Institute.
- 2196 "Aromatic plants of India: family XXV—rutaceae." *J. Scientific and Industrial Res.* (New Delhi) 7B (My '48) 77-99. Complete survey.
- 2197 ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN, MOHAMMED. "Further references to cosmic phenomena in the *Kitāb al-Muntazam* of Ibn al-Jauzi and a few in *Tārīkh-e-Rāḥat Afsā* (India)." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 188-91. List of passages compared with outside data.
- 2198 AMIR ALI, H. "Fresh observations on Perceval's 100-year old notes on the Arab calendar before Islam." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 174-80. Accepts the idea that the pre-Islamic calendar had intercalary months, but rejects Perceval's thesis that these came regularly every 3 years.
- 2199 CLAGETT, MARSHALL. "Some general aspects of physics in the Middle Ages." *Isis* 39 (My '48) 29-42. Includes excerpts from Al-Farābī's *K. Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm*.
- 2200 ELWIN, VERRIER. "The anthropological

survey of India: part I: history and recent development." *Man* 48 (Je '48) 68-9. A report on accomplishments to date and future projects of the anthropological survey of India which was organized in 1946 under the directorship of Dr. B. S. Guha.

See also: 2154, 2192.

### ART

(*Archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri*)

- 2201 AGA-OGU, MEHEMET. "Letters to the editor." *Art Bull.* 30 (Je '48) 162-4. A well-documented reply to Arthur Upham Pope's letter (*Art Bull.* D '47) taking issue with Dr. Aga-Oglu's review of *Masterpieces of Persian Art* in the March 1947 issue.
- 2202 BAKE, ARNOLD A. "Kirtan in Bengal." *Indian Art and Letters* NS 21/1 ('47) 34-40. Detailed discussion of devotional music and poetry revolving about the Krishna principle.
- 2203 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* 61 (Ap '48) 241-2. Description of recent coin issues of Syria and Turkey.
- 2204 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* 61 (Je '48) 409. Description and illustration of a gold disk struck at the Philadelphia mint in 1947 for Saudi Arabia. The mint report indicates that 121,000 were struck.
- 2205 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* 61 (Jl '48) 480-1. Description of recent coin issues of Afghanistan, Bhutan, and Gwalior.
- 2206 LOPEZ-CASTRO CELESTINO, M. "Fantasia Morisca y Lucha de Estilos en la Catedral Mezquita." *Africa* (Madrid) 5 (Ja '48) 7-10. Beautifully illustrated discussion of conflicting styles of architecture in the cathedral-mosque of Cordoba.
- 2207 MABBOTT, THOMAS OLLIVE. "Another coin of the Kharijite 'Caliph' al-Katari." *Numis. Rev.* 4 (Ja '47) 28. Description of an Arab-Sassanian coin of al-Qatari b. al-Fuja'ah.
- 2208 ZAMBAUR, EDUARD. "Ein Denkmal des indischen Aufstandes von 1857." *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna) 72 ('47) 117-32. An unpublished rupee struck at Bareilly in 1274 A.H. (1857-8), in the fictitious 73rd year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II, serves as the point of departure for a discussion of the native political situation throughout India in the latter half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. Useful genealogical data relating to the more important ruling lines and sketch maps are included.
- 2209 ZAMBAUR, EDUARD. "Eine neue Münzstätte der Moghulkaiser Haidarnagar (Bed-

nor)." *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna) 72 ('47) 113-6. The author describes a hitherto unknown rupee of Haidar 'Ali dated 1193 A.H., struck at Haidarnagar, or Bednor, in South India. An historical summary of Haidar 'Ali's career is appended.

## LANGUAGE

- 2210 DAVE, T. N. "Linguistic survey of the borderlands of Gujarat: field-work no. 4." *Gujarat Res. Soc. J.* (Bombay) 10 (Ja '48) 23-34. A good discussion, chiefly on the phonetics of Bhil languages in the Gujarat area (slightly marred by mis-spellings and typographical errors).
- 2211 FRANKLE, ELEANOR. "Some problems of word formation in the Turkic languages." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 68 (Ap-Je '48) 114-20. A tedious treatment of highly unimportant problems connected with Turkic suffixes.
- 2212 FULTON, A. S. "Firūzābādī's 'Wine-List.'" *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 579-85. Contents of MS B.M.O.R. 9200 a, containing 357 synonyms for wine.

See also: 2175.

## LITERATURE

- 2213 AL-'AQQĀD, 'ABBĀS MAḤMŪD. "Al-Ghazzālī's view of causality." (in Arabic) *Al-Kitāb* 3 (My '48) 693-701. Believes that the essential correctness of al-Ghazzālī's idea of causality is vindicated by the return of modern physicists and philosophers to the basic concepts held by their predecessor. The author suggests the possibility of Hume's having been influenced, perhaps indirectly, by al-Ghazzālī.
- 2214 ARBERRY, A. J. "Notes on the *Maḥāsīn al-majālis* of Ibn al-'Arif." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 524-32. Collation of Asin Palacios' edition with a MS in the Chester Beatty collection of A.H. 888 and corrections to the translation.
- 2215 GIBB, H. A. R. "Arab poet and Arab philologist." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 574-8. Important critique of Goldziher's thesis of a conflict between poets and philologists. Both were interested in keeping alive the Arab tradition and nostalgia of desert life. The traditional *qasida* form is an expression of this.
- 2216 HEYWORTH-DUNNE, J. "Society and politics in modern Egyptian literature." *Middle East J.* 2 (Jl '48) 306-18. There is a wealth of material in recent and contemporary Egyptian literature for a study of the modern Egyptian's social and political outlook. Voluminous bibliographical footnotes.
- 2217 KREMKOW, F. "Al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī and the *Kitāb al-Mustajād*." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 181-7. Denies

the authorship of al-Muḥassin or his son 'Alī. The *Mustajād* is an anonymous work written at the turn of the 4th century A.H., with Shī'a tendencies. Some corrections on Kurd 'Alī's edition.

- 2218 AL-MASUMI, M. SAGHIR HASAN. "Rational outlook as obtained in the thought-process of the *Ṣaḥābah*." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 119-27. Quotes fundamentalist statements ascribed to early Moslems as evidence of their rationalism and "common sense."
- 2219 MUNDY, C. S. "Notes on three Turkish manuscripts." *Bull. School of Orient. Stud.* 12/3-4 ('48) 533-41. (1) 'Omer b. Mazid: *Mecmū'at al-nnaḡār* (with index of poets quoted); (2) 'Alī Ṣir Nevāi: *Kullīyyāt* (poems); (3) Ahmedi: *Iskendar-nāme* (with facsimile), with critique of the latter.
- 2220 YAZANI, G. "The poetry of Mirza Farḡat-Ullāh Beg." *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad) 22 (Ap '48) 143-64. Some personal reminiscences about this Urdu poet (1884-1947) and specimens of his art, with English translations.

See also: 2094, 2098, 2116, 2185.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2221 FIELD, HENRY. "Bibliografia." *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* 9 ('46; Mexico, D.F. '47) 325-33. Bibliography of the writings of the American anthropologist H. Field (213 published items).
- 2222 SARTON, G. "Seventy-first critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science." *Isis* 39 (My '48) 70-133. Contains a number of items dealing with the Near and Middle East.

See also: 2216.

## BIOGRAPHY

- 2223 "Rise of the house of Tata." *Gt. Brit. and the East* 65 (Jl '48) 43. Jamshed ji Tata is given credit for India's high rank among the great industrial powers of the world.
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## NEW PUBLICATIONS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ENGLISH  
 Acad., Academy  
 Amer., American  
 Bull., Bulletin  
 Cent., Central  
 Contemp., Contemporary  
 Dept., Department  
 East., Eastern  
 Geog., Geographical  
 Gt. Brit., Great Britain  
 Hist., Historical  
 Illust., Illustrated  
 Inst., Institute  
 Internat., International  
 J., Journal

Mag., Magazine  
 Mod., Modern  
 Mus., Museum  
 Natl., National  
 Numis., Numismatic  
 Orient., Oriental  
 Pal., Palestine  
 Philol., Philological  
 Polit., Political  
 Quart., Quarterly  
 Res., Research  
 Rev., Review  
 Soc., Society  
 Stud., Studies  
 Trans., Transactions

ARABIC  
 K., Kitāb  
 Maj., Majallah, Majallat

ITALIAN  
 Mod., Moderno  
 RUSSIAN  
 Akad., Akademii  
 Fil., Filosofii  
 Ist., Istorii  
 Izvest., Izvestiya  
 Lit., Literaturi  
 Otdel., Otdeleniye  
 Ser., Seriya  
 Yaz., Yazika

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